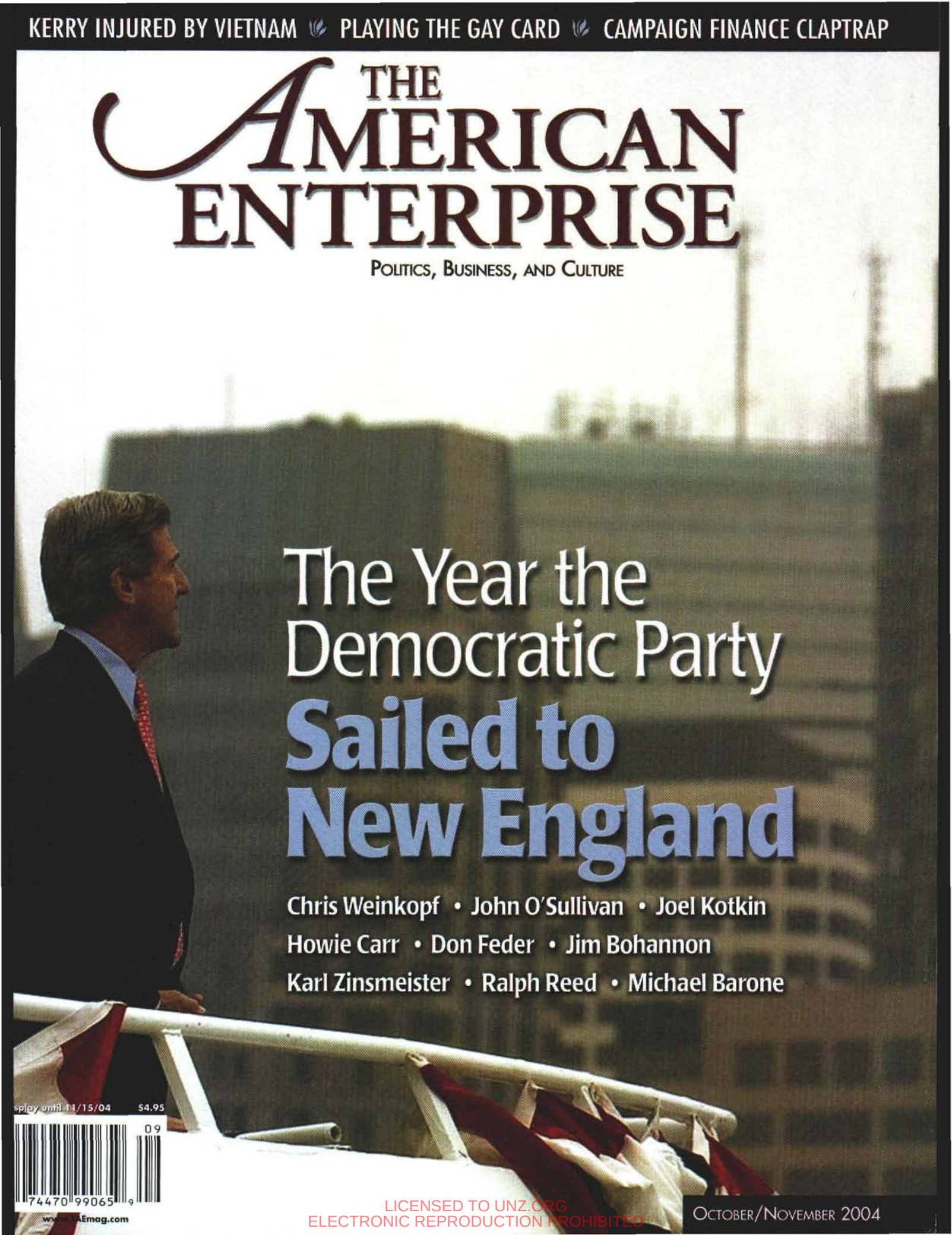
KERRY INJURED BY VIETNAM ❧ PLAYING THE GAY CARD ❧ CAMPAIGN FINANCE CLAPTRAP

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE



The Year the Democratic Party Sailed to New England

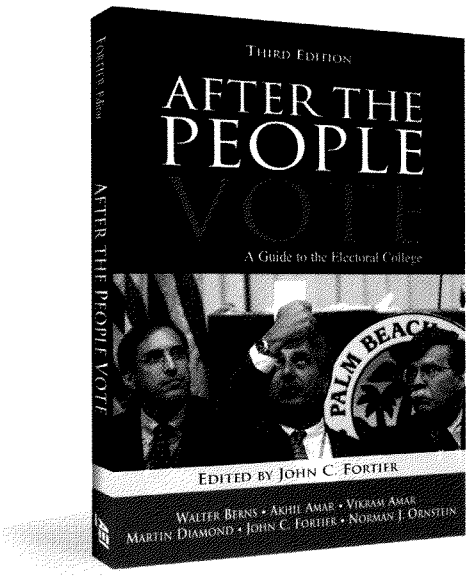
Chris Weinkopf • John O'Sullivan • Joel Kotkin
Howie Carr • Don Feder • Jim Bohannon
Karl Zinsmeister • Ralph Reed • Michael Barone

splay until 11/15/04 $4.95
09
74470 99065 9
www.TAEmag.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

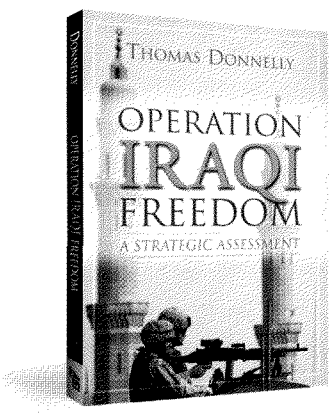
OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 2004

Available Now From the AEI Press



"It is time once more to untangle how the electoral college works, and when it hasn't in the past. Fortunately the third edition of *After the People Vote* is available to help. **John C. Fortier** has preserved the best of previous editions, with updates, and added treatment of the disputed 2000 election, as well as including new essays defending and criticizing how we elect presidents. Timely advice: keep this book handy on election day!"

—Charles O. Jones, Hawkins Professor of Political Science Emeritus, University of Wisconsin



Why is it that the U.S. military—which won so quickly and decisively in Iraq last spring—has run into so much trouble since then? **Thomas Donnelly** explains where we went wrong and what we can do about it now.

AEI Press *publisher for the American Enterprise Institute*

Buy these books and more online at www.aei.org

American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research • 1150 Seventeenth Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036 • 202.862.5800

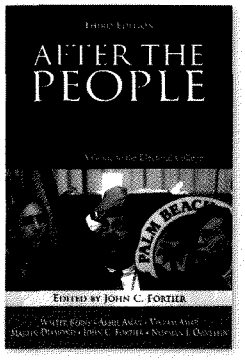
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A SPECIAL OFFER FROM

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE

SUBSCRIBE OR RENEW NOW AND RECEIVE

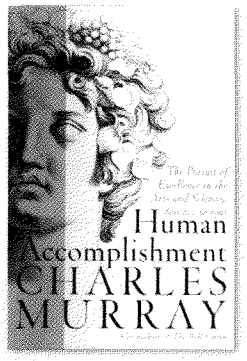
THE BOOK OF YOUR CHOICE ABSOLUTELY FREE!



After the People Vote: A Guide to the Electoral College

Edited by John Fortier

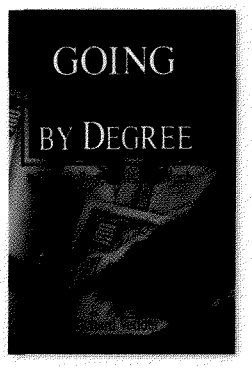
Electing a President—it's not done on election day. Meet the men and women who choose the President after the ballot box is closed.
(softcover, a $15 value)



Human Accomplishment

By Charles Murray

An ambitious survey of high achievers over three millennia—who they were, and what made them great.
(hardcover, a $29.95 value)

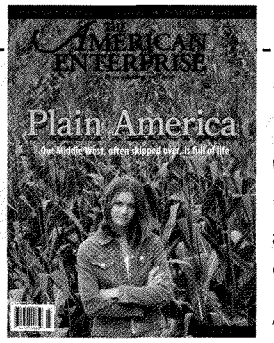


Going Broke by Degree: Why College Costs too Much

By Richard Vedder

An inside look at the college tuition crisis—and solutions to reverse the alarming trend.
(hardcover, a $25 value)

Quantities of some titles are limited.



Start a one-year subscription to *The American Enterprise,* or extend your existing subscription (at our standard one-year price of $28), and **we'll send you the book of your choice at no extra charge.**

Fill in your subscriber's information. Then mark the free book you'd like, and we'll send it at the same time we process your subscription order.

☐ Please start my one-year subscription. (AFBON4)

☐ Please extend my current subscription by one year. (EFBON4)

For my bonus gift, rush me this book (check one):

☐ After the People Vote
☐ Human Accomplishment
☐ Going Broke by Degree

Name .....
Address .....
.....
City .....
State ..... Zip .....
Phone .....
E-mail .....

☐ Check for $28 (made out to *The American Enterprise*) enclosed
☐ Bill my VISA/MC/AMEX

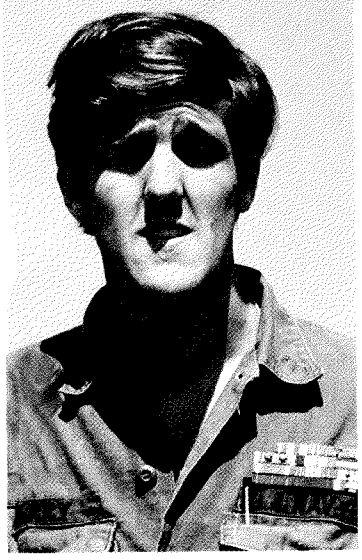
Card # .....
Expires .....
Signature .....

Mail this form to: ***The American Enterprise,*** P.O. Box 304, Congers, New York 10920-0304
OR fax to 845-267-3478 OR go to www.TAEmag.com/FreeGift

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

OCTOBER/NOVEMBER 2004 VOL. 15, NO. 7



PAGE 32

Cover photo: Newscom/EPA Photos

4 BIRD'S EYE ◆ *Karl Zinsmeister*
Goodbye "Regular Joe" Democrat.

6 SCAN ◆ Short news and commentary
Dwarf actor with giant views. McGreevey plays the gay card. Hume Horan, 1934-2004. Iraqi ingrates. Terror in Latin America.

10 "LIVE" WITH *TAE*
Native Brit John O'Sullivan advised Margaret Thatcher before becoming a leading light for American conservatives through his direction of prominent opinion journals.

ELECTION 2004

14 JOHN KERRY'S AMERICA: PRIDE, PREJUDICE, AND PRESUMPTION
Chris Weinkopf
New England elitism colors not only John Kerry's personality but also his policies. Will this alienate voters?

20 THE YEAR THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY MOVED TO NEW ENGLAND
Both Democratic nominee John Kerry and near-thing Howard Dean are sons of high Yankee liberalism. *Ken Von Kohorn, Garrison Nelson, Don Feder, Rachel Jurado,* and *Shawn Macomber* look at the Boston Democrats and the New England phenomenon.

26 THE OTHER KENNEDY CONNECTION
Howie Carr
Everyone knows that John F. Kerry modeled his early political ambitions on John F. Kennedy. Fewer people realize how important the *other* Kennedy—Teddy—has been in making Kerry's career.

28 THE MOLDY MASSACHUSETTS MIRACLE
Joel Kotkin
The economic prescriptions of the Dukakis/Kerry administration that received credit for the "Massachusetts miracle" are not only the wrong tools for building national prosperity—they didn't even improve Massachusetts.

32 THE (VIETNAM) WAR FOR THE WHITE HOUSE
Let's remember we're picking a President, not a gladiator, urges *Jim Bohannon.* *Jan Golab* atones for his anti-war blindness and suggests Kerry do the same. Real heroes don't brag, contends *Mark Hemingway.*

36 DON'T MIND THE DIVIDE
Ralph Reed
Yes, the nation is polarized. But in a sturdy democracy, hard-fought campaigns over important issues are never unhealthy.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

38 FROM MALAISE TO MASTERY IN 25 YEARS
Michael Barone
American politics—and America—changed radically in just one generation. Here's how and why.

41 A SHORT, UNHAPPY HISTORY OF CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM
Regulatory attempts to "take the money out of politics" have made our elections even more unfair, explains *John Lott. Benjamin Ginsberg* shows how the McCain-Feingold controls created the latest monstrosity.

44 HOW TO SAVE U.S. EDUCATION WHILE WINNING VOTES
Matthew Clavel
The GOP should think big and bold when it comes to overhauling our middling to miserable schools.

PAGE 14

46 TRANSCRIPT ◆ Words worth repeating
Urban legends of the Iraq war.

48 IN REAL LIFE ◆ First-person America
Mr. Cremeans goes to Washington.

49 FLASHBACK ◆ *Bill Kauffman*
The many faces of Gerrit Smith.

50 POLITICO ◆ *Grover Norquist*
The Reagan Revolution lives on.

51 FORWARD OBSERVER ◆ *James Glassman*
Our unfriendly "ally" Egypt.

52 ENTERPRISING ◆ Business as an act of creation
The latest in government homewrecking.

53 NOW PLAYING ◆ *Josh Larsen*
New computer technology and an old sci-fi movie collide.

54 BOOKTALK
- Karina Rollins—*In Defense of Internment: The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror* by Michelle Malkin
- Scott Walter—*The American Catholic Voter: 200 Years of Political Impact* by George Marlin
- S. T. Karnick—*7 Myths of Working Mothers: Why Children and (Most) Careers Just Don't Mix* by Suzanne Venker

57 THE DIGEST ◆ Summaries of important research
Party platforms. Fixing the Postal Service. The new golden age of cartoons. Post 9/11 questions. Measuring smarts. Arab grass roots reform.

60 OPINION PULSE ◆ The latest survey data
Election 2004. Voting shifts. Looking back at Election 2000.

63 THE MAIL

64 LAST GASP

PAGE 51

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE AMERICAN ENTERPRISE
POLITICS, BUSINESS, AND CULTURE

October/November 2004 Vol. 15, No. 7

Publisher Christopher DeMuth
Editor in Chief Karl Zinsmeister
Senior Editors Daniel Kennelly
Karina Rollins
Associate Editors Brandon Bosworth
Bill Kauffman
Eli Lehrer
Opinion Pulse Editor Karlyn Bowman
Art Director Jo Roback-Pal
Graphic Designers Jeanne Berger
Laurie Selleck
Proofreader David Brandt
Interns Stephen Dewey
Russ McCracken
Amanda Pica
Samantha Vinograd
Marketing Director Ann Zinsmeister
Business Manager Garth Cadiz
Chief of Operations David Gerson
Contributing Writers James Glassman, Blake Hurst, David Isaac, Joel Kotkin, Philip Langdon, Daniel Lapin, Josh Larsen, Catesby Leigh, Michael Medved, Deroy Murdock, Grover Norquist, Ralph Reiland, Naomi Riley, Frederick Turner, Scott Walter, Chris Weinkopf

Web Site
www.TAEmag.com

Letters to the Editor
"The Mail," The American Enterprise,
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036,
or fax (202) 862-5867, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Main Editorial and Production Office
The American Enterprise
1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 862-5887, or e-mail TAE@aei.org

Office of the Editor in Chief
The American Enterprise
23 Hurd Street, Cazenovia, N.Y. 13035
(315) 655-1033

Press Inquiries
(315) 655-3893 or TAEmedia@alltel.net

Manuscripts
The editors welcome article submissions.
Send to TAE@aei.org or "Submissions" at our
Washington, D.C. mailing address.

Back Issues
Buy at TAEmag.com (click Back Issues tab).
Or send $7 per copy to The American Enterprise,
109 Briarcliffe Road, Dewitt, N.Y. 13214

Subscriptions
New or Problems: (888) 295-9007. $28 for one year.
(Available for U.S. and Canada delivery only.)

Postmaster: Send all subscription correspondence and address changes to The American Enterprise, P.O. Box 6074, Duluth, MN 55806-6074. ISSN 1047-3572. Published eight times per year (J/F, M, A/M, J, J/A, S, O/N, D) by the American Enterprise Institute, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Periodicals postage paid at Washington, D.C. and additional mailing offices. Copyright © 2004, the American Enterprise Institute. All rights reserved.

Bird's Eye

Goodbye "Regular Joe" Democrat

By Karl Zinsmeister

Democrats: the party of the little guy. Republicans: the party of the wealthy. Those images of America's two major political wings have been frozen for generations.

The stereotypes were always a little off, incomplete, exaggerated. (Can you say Adlai Stevenson?) But like most stereotypes, they reflected rough truths.

No more. Starting in the 1960s and '70s, whole blocs of "little guys"—ethnics, rural residents, evangelicals, cops, construction workers, homemakers, military veterans—began moving into the Republican column. And big chunks of America's rich elite—financiers, academics, heiresses, media barons, software millionaires, entertainers—drifted into the Democratic Party.

The extent to which the parties have flipped positions on the little-guy/rich-guy divide is illustrated by research from the Ipsos-Reid polling firm. Comparing counties that voted strongly for Bush to those that voted strongly for Gore in the 2000 election, the study shows that in pro-Bush counties only 7 percent of voters earned at least $100,000, while 38 percent had household incomes below $30,000. In the pro-Gore counties, fully 14 percent pulled in $100,000 or more, while 29 percent earned less than $30,000.

It is "becoming harder by the day to take the Democrats seriously as the party of the common man," writes columnist Daniel Henninger. "The party's primary sources of support have become trial lawyers and Wall Street financiers. It is becoming a party run by a new class of elites who make fast money—$25 million for 30 days work on a movie, millions (even billions) winning lawsuits against doctors…millions to do arithmetic for a business merger."

Obviously both parties have their fat cats, but Federal Election Commission data show that many of the very wealthiest political players are now in the Democratic column. Today's most aggressive political donors by far are lawyers—who donated $98 million dollars to 2004 political candidates as of June. (By comparison, the entire oil and gas industry donated $13 million.) And rich lawyers do indeed tilt strongly Democratic: 71 percent of their contributions went to Democrats, 29 percent to Republicans.

Migration of the rich and powerful to the Democrats has been so pronounced that Democratic nominee John Kerry has actually pulled in much more money than sitting President George Bush this spring and summer. Kerry's monthly fundraising totals have routinely doubled or even tripled Bush's totals. And the money on the Kerry side has come much more from rich individuals, while Bush has relied on flocks of small donors. So which is the party of the people now?

John Kerry is in many ways a perfect embodiment of the Democratic Party's takeover by wealthy elites. Experts describe his genealogy as "more royal than any previous American President." There is a long line of blue blood and inherited funds in his family, and his life has been anything but typically American: Mom was an heiress summering at her family's resort estate in France when she met dad, a Phillips Andover/Yale/Harvard Law School alum who was passing his own summer of 1937 in

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

France "as an apprentice in a sculptor's studio." John's early boyhood was spent in a grand house outside Boston bought with inherited money. At age ten he was packed off to a fancy boarding school in Switzerland, and "for the next seven years of his life, this would become routine: His parents would send him off to boarding school and he would adapt anew to a world of competitive boys from wealthy, privileged families," as Kerry's *Boston Globe* biographers summarize.

The old way of thinking about U.S. politics—little-guy Democrats vs. wealthy Republicans—is about as accurate and relevant today as a 1930 weather forecast.

Kerry spent his high school years at St. Paul's prep school, with a rich aunt paying the bills. He described himself at that point as being "from Oslo, Norway" (where his father was then posted as a diplomat). At St. Paul's and then Yale, Kerry whirled through hoity-toity circles with Auchinclosses and Bundys and trust-funders of all sorts, and when it came time for marrying, he showed the darnedest luck at finding true loves with true money. His first wife was worth $300 million; his second is a billionaire.

Between heiresses, Kerry had to live on his own earnings, and the results were not pretty. His spending on high life exceeded his income to the point of functional bankruptcy. But most of his life has been grand: hundred-dollar haircuts by Christophe, Old Master paintings, and expensive toys of all sorts. His five current houses, one more achingly exclusive than the next—Beacon Hill, Georgetown, Nantucket, Fox Chapel, Sun Valley—could keep a producer for "MTV Cribs" filming and looking up synonyms for "fabulous" for most of a year. Yet of course politically, Kerry is a man of the left. *National Journal* rates his record the most liberal in the U.S. Senate (John Edwards is tied for second).

The term "limousine liberal" doesn't adequately capture how disconnected Democrats like John Kerry (and Jay Rockefeller, and Barbara Streisand, and Jon Corzine—there are now many such) are from everyday American life. They are more like "Lear-jet liberals," who literally pronounce their poxes on oil executives and cattlemen from leather sofas floating at 15,000 feet inside their personal jets (which consume 1,200 gallons of fuel every time they streak their enlightened owner to an Idaho skiing weekend or Cape sailing jaunt). John Kerry is a man who will ignore his own car registration fees and parking tickets and dinner tabs, while cavalierly calling pharmaceutical scientists "selfish" and "irresponsible." He is a fellow who made no charitable donations for years on end, while excoriating other Americans for being "hard-hearted" and "greedy." Some tribune of the ordinary guy.

In this issue of *The American Enterprise*, Chris Weinkopf, Joel Kotkin, and other contributors limn John Kerry's separation from middle-class America. They connect Kerry's rarefied politics back to New England, the region that produced him, as well as the other Democratic favorite this year, Howard Dean. New England is an area well out of the American mainstream in many ways. Politically, it is more liberal than the rest of America. Economically it often resembles Europe more than the rest of the country. And culturally, New England is far more prone to elitism than any other part of the U.S.

New England's elitism—and the resulting tendency of its politicians to assign decision making to a managerial class at the top of society—is the quality that propels it most emphatically out of mainstream American practice. Being ruled by the Harvard faculty might appeal to the electors who sent John Kerry and Ted Kennedy to the Senate, but it sounds like a nightmare to most of the rest of America.

Americans grow up imbued with a deep sense that, while we each have our special talents, every man is fundamentally as worthy as another. This springs from both our religious traditions and the egalitarian principles on which our government was founded. And historically it has been everyday yeomen, not lords, who did most of the building and defending of America.

Most every rifleman who fought in our Revolution could read and write, had a good understanding of the issues for which he was fighting, and had firm opinions on the principles at stake in the war. In Europe at that same time, the officers were generally the only ones who were literate. As he shaped these proud, obstreperous, self-governing men into an army, George Washington found he had to adapt to the "levelling spirit," where "the principles of democracy so universally prevail."

Reinforcing our philosophical egalitarianism is the fact that America (as Daniel Boorstin pointed out) has traditionally been a culture without a capital. At the time of our founding, more than 95 percent of the population lived outside the major cities, and we continue to be a highly dispersed, localized, and independent-minded people, quite resistant to bossing from the center.

Average Americans believe elitism is not only wrong in principle, but also ineffective. And they are correct. In his new book *The Wisdom of Crowds*, James Surowiecki of *The New Yorker* demonstrates that a cross-section of everyday people will generally prove better at solving knotty societal problems than any fraternity of experts. He presents many proofs for the conclusion—long promoted in these pages—that ordinary citizens possess forms of knowledge, intuition, and moral sense that make them better arbiters of critical national debates than any educated elite. This is not just rabblerousing, but a time-tested reality that explains much of the brilliant success of America and the common people who have come to her shores.

continued on page 35

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Scan

ONE HOLLYWOOD ACTOR WE SHOULD LISTEN TO

Welsh actor John Rhys-Davies, whose Hollywood career spans decades, is perhaps best known for his role as Gimli, the defender of the dwarf civilization in the film trilogy *Lord of the Rings*. He raised his profile megafold, however, and put his film career on the line, after the release of *The Return of the King*, the last of the series.

He chose this occasion to state that Tolkien's work is a metaphor for present-day race relations. "I think that Tolkien says that some generations are challenged. And if they do not rise to meet the challenge, they will lose their civilization." Rhys-Davies sees the increase in Europe's Muslim population as emblematic of this phenomenon. He bluntly calls it "a demographic catastrophe threatening Western civilization."

The actor cites the fact that the indigenous European birth rate is in a downward spiral—"unequaled since the Black Death"—while the Muslim birth rate is increasing exponentially. This trend will result in 50 percent of Dutch children being of Muslim descent by 2020. "In a matter of 20 to 50 years, we are going to see two to three countries become predominately Muslim—Holland, France, and possibly Germany."

Rhys-Davies worries about such changes, because though the West holds no opposition to Islam, a significant part of Muslim society is opposed to Western civilization. He doesn't believe all Muslims are a threat to European civilization, but rather the radical Islamic groups, which are "controlling, manipulating, and forming the attitudes of Muslims throughout Europe."

Fundamentalist Islam is "a particularly brutish and unpleasant form of fascism." He believes that if it becomes prevalent in Europe, it will erase the positive aspects of Western culture—democracy, equality, tolerance, women's rights, and the abolition of slavery.

At a recent press conference, in which there was only one woman present, the actor sarcastically admonished her: "You should not be in this room—because your husband or father is not here to guide you. You could only be in this room with these strange men for immoral purposes." He has also voiced his concern about any granddaughters he might have living in a culture "in which women have their fingernails pulled out because they are wearing nail polish."

"Most societies can benefit from a good stirring of the genes, but most cultures are tolerant of each other. I do not see Buddhists throwing bombs into Christian churches, I do not see Christians blowing up Hindu temples." He has also gone on record as viewing "white male culture as pretty damn good, pretty damn marvelous, pretty wonderful."

Needless to say, such politically incorrect observations have brought charges of racism in many quarters. Adam Price, the member of parliament from Rhys-Davies' hometown, condemned his remarks as "racist and ill-informed. It is obvious that this man who now lives in the lap of luxury in Hollywood is out of touch with realities of the nature of present-day European society."

Naz Malik of the All Wales Ethnic Minority Association asked, "If 50 percent of people in Holland under 18 are Muslims in 16 years time, so what? I feel sorry for this actor because he must feel very insecure about his future. I feel sorry for his close-mindedness."

Mohammed Javed, chairman of the Muslim Society of Wales, demanded an apology, stating that such remarks "could stir up racial hatred in society."

Inayat Bunglawala of the Muslim Council of Britain found his remarks "distressing because what's needed is not further polarization between people. Mr. Rhys-Davies has done Muslims a disservice by portraying them as invading barbarian hordes." Even Ian Collier of the Tolkien Society got into the fray. He proclaimed that his group "does not in any way condone the use of Tolkien's works to support messages of racial hate."

But as commentator Robert Spencer has pointed out, the issue is less about race than *sharia*, which "makes no provision for non-Muslims to live as equals with Muslims in an Islamic society." Rhys-Davies echoed this view by categorically stating that he would not want to live in a "theocratically organized Muslim society."

Unfortunately, the actor's opinions were appropriated by the far-right British

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

National Party (BNP) and distributed on the Party's Web site. "The dark days that Tolkien foresaw are almost upon us, and your duty is clear: Join the BNP and our great real-life battle to save the West."

The actor strongly repudiated the BNP for this action but stood by his comments. He clarified that he believes in racial equality, not racial discrimination. "Cultural changes are taking place in Europe that I consider unacceptable." He noted that a minister of the French government flying to Cairo to ask an Islamic cleric for his approval of a ban on headscarves can be seen in two ways: cultural sensitivity—or legitimization of an unelected figure outside Europe's jurisdiction.

The actor remembers that he scoffed when his father, a colonial officer in Tanzania, told him years ago that the next world war would be between Islam and the West, "in your lifetime."

Not surprisingly, he is also a supporter of President Bush's war on terror and invasion of Iraq. Such opinions, of course, set him at odds with the vast majority of his Hollywood cohort. Rhys-Davies criticizes Hollywood for generally projecting the West as weak and the military as corrupt, noting that these images undoubtedly have a less than salutary influence on Muslims.

As with so many others of his generation, Rhys-Davies was a radical leftist in his university days. One day, he went to an event at which a local member of parliament was speaking—who turned out to be Margaret Thatcher. He admits that he went to heckle her, but her rhetoric was so persuasive that he decided "for once to shut up and listen." Would that his critics were as open-minded.

—**Jane Mack-Cozzo** *writes from California. She has lived in Germany and taught in Japan.*

TWO AMERICAS

Maybe this [John Kerry's flip-flopping] explains John Edwards' need for two Americas—one where John Kerry can vote for something, and another where he can vote against the same thing.

—Former New York mayor Rudy Giuliani at the Republican convention in August

IT'S THE CORRUPTION, STUPID

It is easy to feel sorry for Jim McGreevey. In a stunning speech broadcast live nationwide on August 12, the governor of New Jersey came out as a "gay American," admitted to having pursued a homosexual affair, and announced his resignation, effective November 15. In six minutes, a man's entire life came crashing down around him in the culmination of a weeks-long unraveling that left his familial, political, and civic lives devastated.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of McGreevey's admission is how simple the process was. This was not what Americans have come to expect from politics, and it was received well. According to a *Star-Ledger*/Eagleton-Rutgers poll conducted immediately after the dramatic coming-and-going-out, McGreevey's approval rating actually rose two points, to 45 percent. Since then, an attempt by New Jersey Republicans to force an immediate resignation—which would result in a special election in November—has stalled.

You can chalk that up in part to the Northeastern state's tolerance for homosexuality; a more red state might find itself at odds with McGreevey's assertion that, "It makes little difference that as governor I am gay." Yet the real story is that New Jersey, having finally looked at the baby elephant in the room, is suddenly ignoring its gigantic mother—the almost comically corrupt nature of McGreevey, his administration, and the state Democratic Party behind him.

McGreevey is a man who hired an Israeli citizen with drastically insufficient credentials (including the inability to obtain a security clearance) to be his homeland security chief, apparently with the sole motive of a sexual liaison. The staffer, Golan Cipel, was then re-assigned to a post which had no apparent job description but which served nicely to keep him close to the governor. Amid ongoing speculation about his relationship to McGreevey, he finally resigned.

McGreevey is a man who ran on the pledge to reform "Trenton politics"—widely considered among the most corrupt in the nation—and then pushed to have Charles Kushner, the largest contributor to his campaign and to the state Democratic Party, named head of the multibillion-dollar Port Authority.

Kushner has since been convicted of tax fraud, illegal campaign contributions and retaliating against a witness—his own brother-in-law, whom he paid a prostitute to seduce, then taped the encounter, and sent the tape to the man's wife, his own sister. Kushner also happens to have sponsored Cipel's visa to the United States that enabled his affair with McGreevey.

McGreevey is a man whose police chief was forced to resign on charges that he interfered with his own background check, and whose first chief of staff and chief counsel resigned amid accusations of abuse.

Now McGreevey himself will step down, to avoid "rumors, false allegations and threats of disclosure" related to his relationship with Cipel. The governor's advisers insist that Cipel does not have a case—and the governor had better hope they are right. Among Cipel's purportedly "false allegations" is the claim that McGreevey non-consensually performed oral sex on Cipel. In other words, McGreevey raped him. Unless Cipel has no fear of a libel suit, he must have some evidence to support his claims, which could be damning on both civil and criminal levels.

Cipel's suit, of course, is for McGreevey to deal with. Nor does the new focus on McGreevey's personal life detract from the FBI's efforts to investigate fraud in his administration. But in a state government where those who have pledged to fight corruption actively promote it, the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only catalyst for reform can be public outrage. Unfortunately the public's honorable sympathy has the dishonorable side effect of giving McGreevey a pass until November 15—postponing the chance for real change for yet another year. Ironically, the parody newspaper *The Onion* may have summarized the *real* state of New Jersey best with its mock headline: "Homosexual Tearfully Admits to Being Governor of New Jersey."

—**Stephen Dewey** *is a* TAE *intern.*

HUME HORAN, 1934-2004:

It is with regret that *TAE* notes the passing on July 22 of Hume Horan, who contributed an essay to our September issue ("Saudi Arabia: A Successful Anomaly... So Far").

Born in Washington, D.C. in 1934, Horan served the United States as a diplomat and adviser for more than four decades in postings throughout the Arab world, including stints as Ambassador to Saudi Arabia, Sudan, Ivory Coast, and Cameroon/Equitorial Guinea. From May to November 2003, he served as a senior counselor to the Coalition Provisional Authority in Baghdad, for which he received the Distinguished Public Service Award, the Defense Department's highest honorary award for civilians.

Fluent in Arabic, Horan was admired for the depth and breadth of his knowledge of the Arab world—and his refusal to shill for the Saudis. In his 1995 book, *The Arabists*, Robert Kaplan called him "the most advanced form of the Arabist species before it began going extinct."

His service to our nation will be missed.

INGRATITUDE OF OLYMPIC PROPORTIONS

Emerging from years of mediocrity under the "dark cloud" of former Iraqi Olympic Committee president Uday Hussein, the Iraqi men's soccer team surprised the world with a fourth-place finish at the Summer Olympic Games. Playing without the fear of torture as punishment for failure, the Iraqis achieved unthinkable success—but that didn't stop them from denouncing the forces behind their newfound freedom.

The men of the Iraqi Olympic soccer team took offense at George W. Bush's use of their images in a re-election campaign ad in which the President states, "At this Olympics there will be two more free nations—and two fewer terrorist regimes." "He can find another way to advertise himself," the Iraqis told *Sports Illustrated.*

Fair enough. But the comments didn't stop there. Star midfielder Ahmed Manajid asked in all seriousness: "How will [Bush] meet his god having slaughtered so many men and women? He has committed so many crimes." "My problems are not with the American people," says coach Adnan Hamad. "They are with what America has done in Iraq: destroy everything. The American army has killed so many people in Iraq. What is freedom when I go to the [national] stadium and there are shootings on the road?"

Under the head of the Iraqi Olympic Committee, Saddam Hussein's son Uday, Iraqi athletic defeats were met with perverse reprisals. Beatings and humiliation were standard compensation for whatever Uday deemed a less than acceptable performance. Forced to kick cement footballs and made to jump into pits of sewage with fresh wounds, Iraqi athletes lived in constant fear of Uday.

Once a strong force in the international soccer arena, the Iraqi soccer team languished under Uday's rule. After reaching the World Cup Finals in 1986,

AN OVERRIDING PUBLIC DANGER

From the September 1 address of former governor and current senator, Zell Miller, Democrat from Georgia, to the Republican National Convention in New York:

In the summer of 1940, I was an eight-year-old boy living in a remote little Appalachian valley. Our country was not yet at war, but even we children knew that there were some crazy men across the ocean who would kill us if they could. President Roosevelt, in his speech that summer, told America "all private plans, all private lives, have been in a sense repealed by an overriding public danger." In 1940, Wendell Wilkie was the Republican nominee.... And he made it clear that he would rather lose the election than make national security a partisan campaign issue.... Where are such statesmen today? Where is the bipartisanship in this country when we need it most?...

Time after time in our history, in the face of great danger, Democrats and Republicans worked together to ensure that freedom would not falter. But...motivated more by partisan politics than by national security, today's Democratic leaders see America as an occupier, not a liberator. And nothing makes this Marine madder than someone calling American troops occupiers.... it is the soldier, not the reporter, who has given us the freedom of the press. It is the soldier, not the poet, who has given us freedom of speech. It is the soldier, not the agitator, who has given us the freedom to protest. It is the soldier who...gives that protestor the freedom to abuse and burn that flag.

No one should dare to even think about being the Commander in Chief of this country if he doesn't believe with all his heart that our soldiers are liberators abroad and defenders of freedom at home. But...to the leaders of my party today...America is the problem, not the solution. They don't believe there is any real danger in the world except that which America brings upon itself through our clumsy and misguided foreign policy.

...Senator Kerry has made it clear that he would use military force only if approved by the United Nations. Kerry would let Paris decide when America needs defending.... John Kerry, who says he doesn't like outsourcing, wants to outsource our national security. That's the most dangerous outsourcing of all.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

victories were few. News of Uday's sadism reached the international community through stories told by defectors. Now free to speak openly of the torture and abuse they suffered, the Iraqi soccer team has pledged never to forget what life was like under Uday.

But have they already? Finishing their Olympic run after a 1-0 loss to Italy, the Iraqi players returned home triumphantly, confident that, this time at any rate, they would not have the soles of their feet beaten. So why couldn't they leave Athens without pledging their resistance to the man who made it possible?

—**Samantha Vinograd** *is a* TAE *intern.*

HIGHER EDUMACATION

I'm not an academic, but I've played one for much of the past seven years. I taught magazine journalism at Indiana University, and then nonfiction writing at two Pennsylvania liberal-arts colleges. My academic station has ranged from lowly adjunct to visiting professor to writer-in-residence. In theory, the latter two positions made me a full-fledged, albeit temporary, member of the faculty. In practice, those jobs gave me the right to watch the real academics go through their paces while I wondered why I'd been left off the e-mail distribution lists for the most important meetings.

Nonetheless, here's the takeaway from my years in the collegiate trenches: Yes, Virginia, there is academic freedom. Though it applies only to faculty—and only when willing to toe the party line (which is drawn somewhere to the port side of Marx.)

Faculty have few qualms about sociopolitical evangelism or—put another way—bullying students into submission. I met a number of professors in history, poli-sci, and the "gender" disciplines who made no bones about their inclination to grade, at least in part, based on ideology. (After all, if you oppose affirmative action or support U.S. imperialism, you can't be thinking too clearly, can you?)

As for "the spirit of unfettered intellectual inquiry" that scholars like to rhapsodize about in their elite journals—if you tilt right, or fail to tilt visibly left, you're suspicious. Like incestuous breeding, this homogeneous climate perpetuates a numbing ideological sameness (as well as, grotesque philosophical defects similar to what one finds in people who propagate with others of a common lineage).

The inevitable and ironic result of this estrangement from the real world is that academia ends up standing for devolution, not revolution; stasis, not progress. Those who describe themselves as "progressives" are actually stuck in '60s-era Great Society liberalism; they haven't even made it as far as a Clintonian co-opting of GOP-inspired social reforms. This rear window scholarship is visible in most adademic disciplines except the hard sciences. Of what use is a college curriculum that devotes much of its energy to preparing students for the real world of a half century (or more) ago?

I've now left the academy, and I don't expect to be invited back anytime soon. Still, I'm grateful for the experience. At least now I know the answer to questions like, "What's the opposite of higher education?"

—**Steve Salerno** *lives in Indianapolis, freed from academia.*

VIVA BUSH?

Recent intelligence has provided evidence that al-Qaeda is attempting to infiltrate the United States via Mexico, as well as collaborate with Mexican organized crime. Terror groups Hamas, Hezbollah and al-Gamaa al-Islamiyyah have settled in the triple-border area of Brazil, Paraguay, and Argentina.

The Bush administration will have to confront terrorism in Latin America. It won't be easy. South American leaders openly question U.S. leadership in the region. Brazil and Argentina have been critical of Bush's trade and security policies. Several nations have criticized the U.S. proposal aimed at punishing the region's most corrupt governments. Latin cooperation is likely to be thin, and if Bush pushes ahead alone, he risks alienating Hispanics in the U.S.—7 million of whom are expected to vote this year. Bush is also famously reluctant to annoy his friend, Mexican president Vicente Fox.

President Bush can probably delay action until after the election, but should he win a second term, he will have to decide between pleasing Hispanics and protecting all Americans.

—**Victoria Shapiro** *attends the University of Michigan.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"Live" with TAE

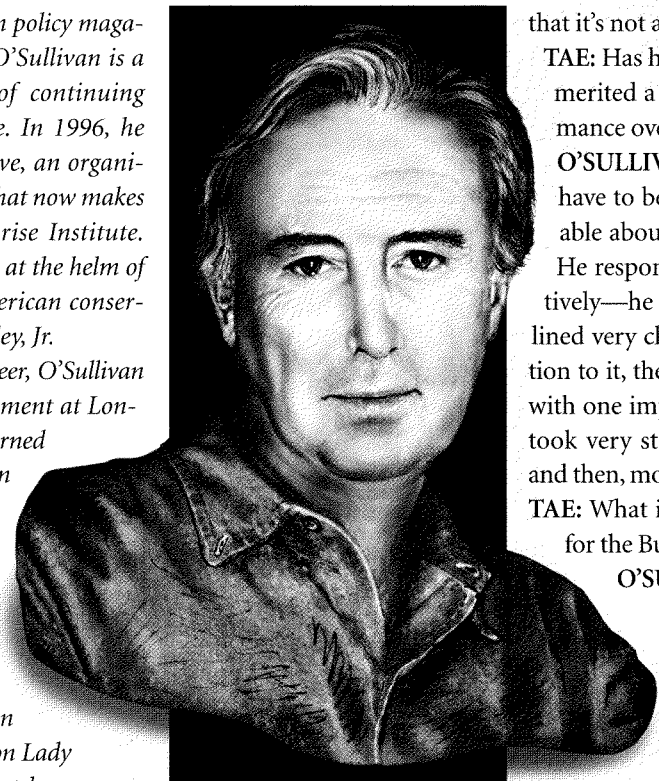
A native Brit, he was an adviser to Margaret Thatcher before becoming a leading light for American conservatives through his direction of several prominent American opinion journals.

John O'Sullivan

Editor of the highly regarded foreign policy magazine The National Interest, *John O'Sullivan is a forceful and eloquent advocate of continuing strong American ties with Europe. In 1996, he founded The New Atlantic Initiative, an organization devoted to Euro-U.S. unity that now makes its home at the American Enterprise Institute. From 1988 to 1997, O'Sullivan was at the helm of* National Review, *the voice of American conservatism founded by William F. Buckley, Jr.*

During his early journalistic career, O'Sullivan wrote editorials and covered parliament at London's Daily Telegraph, *where he learned the trade in the company of veteran newspapermen. His work as a writer and editor brought him to the U.S., where he also served as editor at* Policy Review, *the* New York Post *editorial page, and United Press International. From 1987 to 1988 O'Sullivan was back in England, as special adviser to the Iron Lady herself, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher.*

TAE *senior editors Karina Rollins and Daniel Kennelly met with O'Sullivan at his office in Washington, D.C.*



Today's extreme Bush hatred is a personalized version of American anti-Americanism.

TAE: What is *the* issue this election cycle? And do most Americans recognize it as such?

JOHN O'SULLIVAN: The biggest single question is going to be Iraq and the war on terrorism. They are basically the same thing, although not everyone agrees with that. The economy will be a factor as it always is, but it's not the preeminent one—partly because it is pretty good without being absolutely sensational. It's not likely to result in any losses for Bush, but it's not likely to win him massive new ground either, and there is sufficient controversy over the state of the economy and the success of the tax cuts that it's not a clear winning issue.

TAE: Has his performance in the war on terror merited a re-election? How about his performance overall?

O'SULLIVAN: On his overall performance, I'd have to be quite critical, but I'm more favorable about his handling of the war on terror. He responded to the initial attack very effectively—he steadied the situation; he also outlined very clearly both the problem and a solution to it, the Bush Doctrine, which I support—with one important qualification—and he then took very strong action, smashing the Taliban and then, more controversially, invading Iraq.

TAE: What is the qualification in your support for the Bush Doctrine?

O'SULLIVAN: Both he and the administration can be criticized for not giving the Europeans generous credit from day one. Quite a lot of the angst in recent years would have been avoided if in Afghanistan, for example, the administration and spokesmen had paid more tribute to the contributions of allies. Quite a lot was done by Europeans, and yet one had the impression that the war against the Taliban was conducted by the Northern Alliance and America alone.

I understand that every nation trumpets the successes of its own troops. That's normal. But if you're the leader of an alliance, you really have a prudential obligation to talk up the achievements and contributions of your allies, even when they're modest. That failure has, to some extent, poisoned relations since then.

But let me add a qualification to that qualification. When I say "pay greater attention to the allies," I do not just mean being nice to Europeans. I mean actually getting involved in alliance management within Europe much

Illustration by Paul Loughran

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more toughly than America has done. You can't rely on the British, East Europeans, or the Italians to do your dirty work for you in European politics. They've got their own interests to look after, even when they're on your side. But America has a real interest in preventing the development of the common European policy that would inevitably be hostile to Washington.

TAE: Restoring our soured relations with Europe has been a centerpiece of the foreign policy wing of John Kerry's campaign. Do you think that platform is credible coming from him?

O'SULLIVAN: My problem with Kerry is not that he is involving himself more than Bush did in alliance politics with Europe, but that he's doing so on the wrong side. He seems to think that Europe is France and Germany. He, and the Democrats in general, have talked about European countries in the Iraq coalition as countries you can buy on eBay. Is that true for the Poles, the Italians, for the Brits? He's effectively telling those countries which have thrown in their lot with the United States that they have made a mistake. Now, that may suit him temporarily in electoral terms, but if he is elected, he'll find that damages him. In some future crisis he's going to want to have allies who believe in the right of America to use pre-emptive force against dangerous enemies. At the moment he's backing people who don't believe America should have that right.

TAE: Where has Bush failed?

O'SULLIVAN: A few years ago I outlined in *TAE* three tests of success for President Bush. [*See "United We Should Stand" in our Dec. 2002 issue.*] The first was that he should slow or reverse the advance of the regulatory state. He hasn't done that. Regulations, spending, and new projects have poured out of Washington. The second was that he should realize that the attempt to create a single European power was disadvantageous to the United States and that he should try to block it. While his administration has ceased to support it, it has still not recognized how big a risk it is, so I have to give Bush and his people a failing grade on that one too. Finally, I said that one of the great dangers facing the U.S.—which has since been amplified by Samuel Huntington in his important book *Who Are We?*—was balkanization, the gradual transformation of the U.S. into many nations squabbling under some kind of Constitutional umbrella.

The Bush administration is as subject to political correctness as the Clinton administration was.

Bush was given a great opportunity on September 11 to work against that, but he missed it. He was even aggressively bad on this point, proposing an immigration reform that is the nearest thing to open borders ever seriously proposed.

Domestically, Bush has not been a good President, except on tax cuts, but if I had a vote, I'd cast it for the President over the war on terror rather than over anything else. The stakes in Iraq are enormously high. Even those conservatives who opposed the war in the first place should realize that a U.S. withdrawal would create a super Lebanon in Iraq, which would be used as a terrorist base far more dangerous than Afghanistan.

TAE: What have been the biggest blunders by the Bush and Kerry campaigns to date?

O'SULLIVAN: Well, I think the biggest single blunder has been Bush's immigration amnesty proposal. His approval rate started to decline seriously the very week that it was announced. Up until that point, his political base had been disappointed on domestic issues, but not really discontented. Immediately afterwards, you saw a real erosion of the base. Republican fundraisers will tell you that they got very bad vibes on that one.

As for Kerry, he's waged quite a crafty campaign. But he may well have made a serious mistake in over-emphasizing his role in Vietnam. It made his war record disproportionately important.

TAE: How wise is it for Bush partisans to attack Kerry's war record?

O'SULLIVAN: The people who served with Kerry, the Swift Boat veterans, are the ones attacking him. They do not seem to me to be driven by partisan feeling as much as by dislike of Kerry, by the fact that this man, who came back from Vietnam and accused American troops of being war criminals, is now presenting himself as a war hero. Even if he *is* a war hero, that sticks in their gullet. The fact that some Republicans agree with them and are willing to finance them, well, where would you expect money for that kind of cause to come from? Not from the Left. The Swift Boat Vets' story so far has really been a test for the media. Here we have arguments seemingly backed up by evidence, but the media aren't really examining it.

TAE: There has been some sharp criticism of Bush on the homeland security aspect of the war on terror.

O'SULLIVAN: There has—and with some rea-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

son. This administration is as subject to political correctness as the Clinton administration was. That's particularly true for Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta—"underperformin' Norman" as he's known around the Internet. It's absurd not to take age, ethnicity, and sex into account when looking for terrorists among airline passengers. Yes, I know, elderly women might conceivably be terrorists, but it is a lot less likely, isn't it, than young Middle Eastern men? If it's true that an airline that singles out more than two Arab men for examination is penalized, that is simply suicidal nonsense.

Look, my name is O'Sullivan. If I'd been stopped automatically on planes and trains and so on when the IRA was blowing things up, I would have been perfectly happy about that since it would have been directed toward saving my life. Mature people ought to be able to get over being momentarily suspected as a possible terrorist.

Asa Hutchinson at the Department of Homeland Security is someone I'd like to see go. When the INS officials in southern California rounded up a lot of illegals for deportation, he caved under pressure from employers and ethnic groups and announced there would be no more such roundups unless they were cleared with Washington first. This is conniving at law breaking.

TAE: Should Norman Mineta be fired too?

O'SULLIVAN: Oh yes, for sure.

TAE: How smart politically is John Edwards' "Two Americas" campaign theme?

O'SULLIVAN: It's completely misplaced. This country is extraordinarily wealthy. Its poor are wealthier than most *average* citizens in other nations, on a per capita basis. A very high percentage of Americans—if not an outright majority—own stocks directly. The theme of an economically divided America appeals not to the actual poor, but to wealthy, left-wing college graduates who like to strike proletarian poses.

TAE: How does being a political commentator and a Brit translate in the American political arena?

O'SULLIVAN: It's easier for us Brits than for most immigrants because we don't really think of America as a foreign country. I first came to America in 1949 when I was six, spent four months in Alabama and New York, and had a wonderful time. It was terrific for a little boy in 1949, to go from England where there was candy rationing to the land of chocolate cakes and ice cream. The English in America feel more or less instantly at home—but there's a downside. Because they don't feel the need to shift gears, there's quite a low rate of U.S. citizenship among the Brits.

TAE: You've had a wide-ranging and diverse career. Which experiences do you remember most?

O'SULLIVAN: My time working as special adviser to the prime minister, Margaret Thatcher, was so different from everything else I have ever done. I liked her personally, and we got along very well. I also had a sense of mission, which always makes a job easier to do.

I was really fortunate to be an editorial writer and a parliamentary sketch writer—that's someone who writes a dramatic account of the previous day's events in the House of Commons, like reviewing a play—for the *Daily Telegraph* in London. I was there in the 1970s, when the editorial board had an exceptionally talented and amusing group of people. There was T. E. Utley, a genius who shaped the minds of the young conservative journalists whom he recruited. Colin Welch, the deputy editor, was just fizzing with fun and amusement of a highly intellectual kind. Andrew Alexander, a very austere, dry, witty parliamentary observer. Bill Deedes, who started working at the *Morning Post* in 1932 and writes a column for the *Daily Telegraph* today. And Frank Johnson, the most brilliant sketch writer of his generation in parliament.

At any given time in journalism, there is a paper or a magazine where everybody wants to be because that's where the talented and amusing people are. That was the *Telegraph* in those days. I look back and say to myself, "God, wasn't that marvelous!" Even then Frank and I used to say to each other, This can't possibly last.

TAE: What is your view of Clinton's Presidency?

O'SULLIVAN: He may have been a bad man personally. He may have cheated on his wife and so on, but I'm not married to him. My main interest in him is this, What was he like as a President? And I think he was, from a conservative standpoint, surprisingly good on domestic questions. You've got to ask yourself: Who was happier at the end of the Clinton years—a Republican coupon clipper looking after his investments, or a liberal social worker? There's no doubt that Republican coupon clippers were much happier. Clinton gave us balanced budgets, welfare reform, the expansion of NATO, of NAFTA, and so on. It's true he

Kerry has waged quite a crafty campaign, but he may have made a serious mistake overemphasizing his role in Vietnam.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was often forced into these things, but he had the sense to bow to political reality.

TAE: Is the Clinton bashing of the 1990s the parallel of Bush hatred today?

O'SULLIVAN: It's different in character. Clinton hatred did become very foolish and paranoid sometimes, but most of the time it was simply the frustration of the Right with an opponent who was just too quick and clever for them.

Bush hatred is something else, something really significant. It's much deeper—a personalized version of American anti-Americanism. There is in this country a considerable cultural self-hatred. The adversary culture fears and hates American power. So anybody who comes along and defends America's values self-confidently, and even pre-emptively attacks America's enemies, is going to be regarded by this sect as an agent of the Great Satan. The same hatred was directed at Reagan. Bush is really the victim of the fact that he happens to be pro-American and that he's taken strong action in defense of America.

TAE: Tony Blair was once described along the lines of a British Bill Clinton, but has now won high marks from conservatives for his articulate support for Bush in the Iraq war. How do you size him up?

O'SULLIVAN: Well, I think he's been brave and consistent on the war, and also that he's an eloquent advocate of his point of view. Why has he been so strong on the war? One reason is that he is an old-fashioned liberal internationalist, but a muscular internationalist. He thinks that if you pass a U.N. resolution, you've got to do something about enforcing it.

The problem from the U.S. standpoint is that Blair is also in favor of European unity, thereby creating the circumstances in which Britain will not be free to make the decisions *he* made this time in some future crisis, because there the Brits will be subjected to a common European foreign policy. So my feeling is that he's a brave, decent person; in the war, excellent, in wider foreign policy issues, suspect. It is in relation to Britain that he has been a tremendous disappointment. He has done very little to actually carry through the reforms he's talked about and he will almost certainly leave office, even if he wins the next election, as a man who is notable for winning elections and fighting the Iraq war, and for very little else. So his reputation historically really is going to depend very heavily on the ultimate outcome of the war.

The idea that an airline should be penalized for singling out and examining more than two Arabic men per flight is simply suicidal nonsense.

TAE: Would you like to see Britain remove itself from the European Union?

O'SULLIVAN: I don't think that's necessary. What I would like to see—and what is in the interest of both Britain and the United States, and also our troops in Europe—is for the E.U. to develop along very different lines. Many of the policies that are now determined centrally should be returned to individual nations, and no more national powers should be ceded to Europe. In particular, we need to get rid of the common agricultural policy. It's a disaster for Europe, a disaster for the European consumer and taxpayer, and it's a disaster for Third World countries, which produce agricultural goods and then have to compete with subsidized European products. It makes no sense. It's even wicked. It should be stopped.

TAE: You're also an advocate of a closer union of English-speaking countries, the Anglosphere. Has there been any serious movement toward a formal coalition of English-speaking countries?

O'SULLIVAN: I think, along with Winston Churchill and Margaret Thatcher, that the English-speaking countries often act as an informal coalition in world affairs because they share the same political and legal traditions, the Common Law, Magna Carta, and the same language. These cultural affinities make cooperation easier and explain why, for instance, we tend to migrate to and invest in each other's countries more than going into third nations. Some critics think that talk of cultural affinity in foreign policy is sentimental nonsense—and so it sometimes is. But the case for the Anglosphere is not that cultural affinity makes you like a particular set of foreigners more, but that you tend to see the world the same way and, hence, to act in concert. In his book *The Anglosphere Challenge*, James Bennett argues that the Internet and the general improvement in communications have made common culture much more important than geography. I think he's right and that the English-speaking powers—especially the U.S., Australia, and India—will find themselves cooperating more. Ironically, that coalition may not include England if she is swallowed up entirely in a European state.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

John Kerry's America:

Pride, privilege, and presumption

By Chris Weinkopf

Getty Images/Stone

STRETCHING around the northeastern boundary of Boston Harbor sits a small, picturesque town with seven miles of beach, shady fruit trees, and quaint cottages. The town is part of a peninsula that, in 1632, the founding governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, John Winthrop, annexed from local tribes. Since 1846, it has continuously borne the family name—Winthrop, Massachusetts.

The town is but one of many signs of the storied role the Winthrops have played in New England and American history. Seven generations after Governor Winthrop formed his Puritan colony, Robert Charles Winthrop became Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, before moving on to the Senate in 1850. One hundred thirty-five years later, another direct descendant of John Winthrop would serve the Commonwealth of Massachusetts for 19 years as a U.S. Senator before going on to seek the U.S. Presidency.

His name is John Kerry. John Forbes Kerry, actually. In addition to the Winthrop connection, the Massachusetts senator also descends from the Bay State Forbes clan, which launched the Boston-China trade and amassed a fortune in the American mercantile class. To this day, the family maintains several estates throughout the world, homes in which Kerry vacationed as a boy, between semesters at boarding schools and before marrying into a $300 million real-estate portfolio of his own. This is the same John Forbes Kerry who now campaigns on a populist promise to bridge the "two Americas" divided by wealth and privilege.

The theme isn't original, of course. It's recycled from the primary campaign of Kerry's running mate, North Carolina's Senator John Edwards. And at least symbolically, this political ticket represents the uniting of the classes that the candidates promise. Although shaking down doctors and insurance companies has launched Edwards into Kerry's rarefied tax bracket, his pedigree couldn't be more different—the son of mill workers, the product of public education and state universities, a lifelong resident of North Carolina.

It's often noted that the purpose of the modern Vice Presidential nominee is to bring to the ticket what the Presidential candidate cannot: Walter Mondale provided Jimmy Carter with Beltway street cred, as did the elder George Bush for Ronald

Chris Weinkopf, a native New Englander and prep-school alum, is editorial page editor of the Los Angeles Daily News.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Reagan. Dan Quayle was, in theory anyway, going to make Bush attractive to Baby Boomers. Dick Cheney gave the younger Bush "gravitas," while Joe Lieberman was supposed to make Al Gore seem strong of character. Kerry's selection of Edwards follows the same model, injecting a dose of Horatio Alger into Kerry's silver-spoon persona. But more important, Edwards brings some Deep South to a campaign that reeks of New England, in this case, Northeastern elitism and unapologetically liberal politics.

In many ways, John Kerry represents both the personification and the pinnacle of the region that spawned him, a region increasingly detached from much of the rest of America in terms of culture and values. Although his background has helped bring him to his current position of wealth and prominence, it could ultimately thwart his lifelong pursuit of the Presidency. Between now and November, Kerry will labor mightily to convince working-class, swing-state Americans that he is, at least in spirit, one of them. The question is: Can he pull it off?

To better understand the cultural and political ethos of New England today, we must go back to Governor Winthrop and the society he intended to found. It wasn't Winthrop's goal to create a new country, but to reform the old one by setting an example of religious and social virtue. Winthrop and the one thousand hearty souls who came with him from England were Europeans at heart—as evidenced by their zeal to name New World cities and towns after Old World counterparts. Even a century and a half later, many colonists still thought of themselves as Englishmen first. During Revolutionary times, they were divided among the Patriots and the Tories—those who pledged their loyalty to America and its emerging national character, and those whose loyalty remained with the British crown and its attendant aristocracy. (One noteworthy loyalist was the Reverend John Forbes, Kerry's great-great-great-great grandfather, who served the British Empire at a key post in East Florida until 1783, when he fled to England, leaving two sons behind.)

As the country expanded westward, it was largely members of the lower classes—those with little to lose and much to gain—who ventured into the wilderness. Those staying behind were disproportionately those who, like the Winthrops and the Forbeses, enjoyed positions of privilege and distinction. The result is that, while class mobility and meritocracy were early phenomena elsewhere in America, New England retained a more rigid social and economic caste system not unlike the one that millions of immigrants would flee Europe to escape. With the hoi polloi seeking opportunity on the frontier while the elites remained in the east, a natural sense of superiority arose throughout New England—a sense that very much carries on to this day.

In the eyes of many New Englanders, the region is culturally more like Europe than the rest of America. It has cobblestone streets, centuries-old buildings, established families who dominate the local history books, each with its own seal and tartan. Those who grow up in the region feel a righteous sense of pride that their home is the birthplace of American liberty, of Plymouth Rock, the Minutemen, the shot heard 'round the world. Anyone who can boast a lineage that traces in whole or part "back to the Mayflower" is something of an honorary royal, a living connection to a storied past. The floods of tourists who come in each year to marvel at sights they'd previously only read about in history books—sights that, for the locals, are simply part of the everyday landscape—reinforce the notion that this is a place that's in some intrinsic way *better* than any of the newer, less interesting, less gentrified parts of the country.

Lost on Northeastern liberals is that they live among the very pockets of privilege they should, by virtue of their ideology, despise.

Imbued with an innate sense of egalitarianism, no New Englander worth his salt will own up to being a snob, but New England snobbery is undeniable. It's there in the jokes, in the vocabulary, in the knowing references to the benighted souls back in the red states. In New England parlance, "West Virginia" is a synonym for uncouth, "Mississippi" for unread, "Iowa" means boring, and "Texas" boorish. A Southern accent is widely recognized as a sign of intellectual inferiority, and anyone who owns a gun is, by definition, a bloodthirsty, paranoid redneck.

True to the region's Europhilic origins, New Englanders, as a whole, care deeply about what France and Germany think about America, Americans, and U.S. foreign policy. When Kerry wrings his hands about the need to "rebuild our alliances," he's not just giving voice to his own concerns; he's playing to his base, a constituency that can't bear the thought of losing international popularity contests. Commensurate with the Northeastern affinity for international sensibilities is a disdain for the notion of American exceptionalism, the idea that the U.S. has a unique role in the world, or at least a responsibility to exert its power for its own protection. All of which translates into a deep disgust for the man Kerry hopes to replace in November, President George W. Bush.

With New Hampshire as the glaring exception that proves the rule, the five other New England states—Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—all lean politically to the left. You can drive for days in certain communities and not spot a single Bush-Cheney bumper sticker. While some of these states have elected Republican governors in recent years, such occurrences shouldn't be read as anything other than political anomalies owing themselves to the particulars of specific elections. No one doubts seriously that the five New England states that went for Gore in 2000 will back Kerry every bit as strongly this time, which only stands to reason. He is, in many ways, very much one of their own.

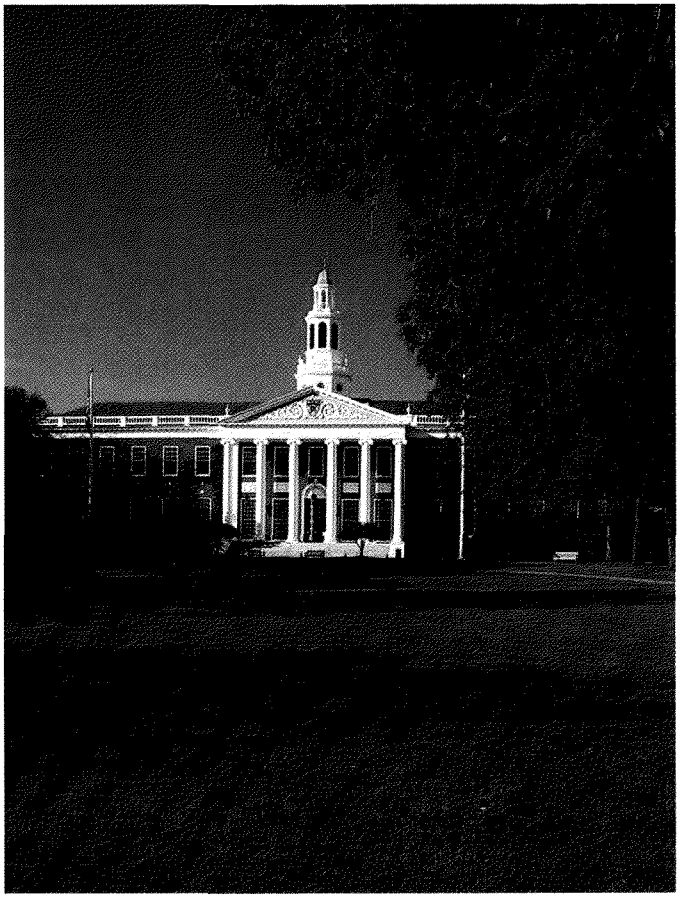
Lost on Northeastern liberals is that they live among—and their political leaders tend to come from—the very pockets of privilege they should, by virtue of their ideology, despise. Most notable are the elite prep schools which have, from the time of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

their founding until very recently, served as playgrounds for the pampered and feeders for top colleges. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was an alumnus of the Groton School in Groton, Massachusetts. John F. Kennedy and brother Bobby both attended Choate-Rosemary Hall in Wallingford, Connecticut. Self-styled populist Howard Dean went to St. George's in Newport, Rhode Island, and as a middle-schooler, Kerry attended the tony Fessenden School in Newton, Massachusetts, before heading off to St. Paul's in Concord, New Hampshire. Not coincidentally, these same prominent Democrats all went on to attend Ivy League colleges—FDR and the Kennedys at Harvard, Dean and Kerry at Yale.

The prep schools and the Ivies are a key part of the Northeast's identity, its sense of academic excellence and its aristocratic subculture. Yet in gauging their significance not only in the life of John Kerry but also to New England and American history, it's important to remember that only 40 years ago they occupied a very different place in society than they do today.

In recent decades, the elite colleges and prep schools have made a conscious effort to open their ranks beyond the children of alumni, who once enjoyed virtually guaranteed admission, qualified or not. Pedigree—or lack thereof—is no longer an automatic cause for acceptance or rejection. Blacks, Jews, and Catholics are now welcome, as are women. Financial aid is now available to those who need it, and as far as the admissions offices are concerned, new money is every bit as good as old. The direct link between the prep schools and the Ivies has been severed, and the Ivies themselves no longer occupy the same lofty position in American higher education, competing with the likes of Stanford, Duke, and the Universities of Michigan and Chicago for the best and brightest American youth.



But back when Kerry and the other current leaders of American business and politics—including George W. Bush—were attending the prep schools and Ivies, these institutions were still largely the domain of select WASP families, and mere attendance all but assured a prestigious and lucrative professional career.

While very few New Englanders ever attend Harvard or Yale, the mere concentration of elite colleges in the region supports the notion that New England is America's intellectual capital and the drawing ground of its public and private leadership. And for every big-name university in the region, there are countless smaller ones, more than 250, sprinkled throughout the six states in cities large and small. Massachusetts has more colleges and universities than either Florida, Michigan, or Virginia. Vermont boasts the highest number of campuses per capita in the nation. Even tiny Rhode Island can claim 11 institutions of higher learning. Boston itself is so college-heavy that, during the academic year, it's estimated that 25 percent of its population consists of students.

Colleges, of course, create their own communities, with a concentration of academics and artists, and those who like being around them. The result is that sizable portions of New England have become, to varying degrees, college towns. That means an abundance of intellectual life and cultural venues—theaters, used-book stores, coffee houses, a symphony orchestra on many campuses. It also means vast populations of people whose existence is largely sheltered from the workaday pressures of the real world, including professional academics who haven't left a campus since their undergraduate days. Then there are many more residents in the surrounding communities who take their moral and political cues from the colleges, operating under the false belief that education and smarts are one and the same.

So while the actual size of New England's elite class is relatively small, the sense of elitism extends far beyond those who attend the likes of St. Paul's or Yale. It extends over the descendants of Irish immigrants who, just generations earlier, suffered under the naked bigotry of the WASP establishment. It extends through boarded-up old mill towns, depressed Boston ghettoes, and haughty suburbs alike. Just as poor antebellum Southerners used to find some comfort in their social superiority to slaves, so can poor New Englanders find solace in the belief that, even if the preppies look down on them, they can still look down on just about everyone else. Being a New Englander comes with its own sense of privilege. Those with the real privileges—the fancy schools and the prestigious family names—are merely enjoying a slightly better view atop the societal order.

And that would include John Kerry.

When Kerry's grandfather, John Forbes, married his grandmother, Margaret Winthrop, the event was widely considered the merger of two of Boston's most celebrated and influential families. It only stood to follow that a descendant of this elite

Newscom.com/Dunwell Photography Inc

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

coupling might one day ascend to the highest office in the country. A New Englander might say it was a matter of destiny.

Although Kerry's father, Richard Kerry, the son of Austrian and Hungarian immigrants, worked in the foreign service and never earned a fortune of his own, there was enough wealth on the Winthrop-Forbes side of the family to assure young John the proper Brahmin upbringing. As a boy, Kerry spent summers at the Forbes family compound in Saint Briac, France, on the Brittany Coast. In 1954, at 10 years old, after his father was stationed in Berlin, Kerry was shipped off to the Institut Montana Zugerberg overlooking Lake Zug, just outside Zurich, Switzerland—a boarding school popular among European royals. From there it was on to Fessenden, St. Paul's, and Yale.

At Yale, Kerry was selected in his junior year as one of 15 annual inductees to Skull and Bones, the super-secretive fraternal organization whose most famous members include both Presidents Bush. These are the most privileged of an already privileged group of students, and members tell each other over and over that they are destined to become America's top leaders.

If meeting John F. Kennedy was the thrill of Bill Clinton's youth, for John F. Kerry, it was merely one more instance of rubbing elbows with the rich and powerful. In the summer before his first year at Yale, Kerry briefly dated Janet Auchincloss, the half-sister of First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy, a relationship that once resulted in a cruise with the President aboard a Coast Guard yawl in Narraganset Bay.

Just in case the advantages of his own upbringing weren't enough to secure him a comfortable life, Kerry married into considerable wealth—twice. His first wife, Julia Thorne, twin sister of fellow Bonesman David Thorne, was the affluent descendant of William Bradford, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Second wife Teresa Heinz Kerry is the heiress of the vast Heinz ketchup fortune.

Owing in small part to the wealth he's inherited, but mostly to the wealth of his wives, Kerry has attained a net worth and lifestyle that would seem to belie his populist campaign rhetoric. The Heinz-Kerry family's five homes neatly illustrate the point: On Louisberg Square in Boston's Beacon Hill, near Boston Common and the State House, is Kerry's $12.8 million brownstone, the only property that's owned in his name. For summer getaways, the family has its $10 million beach house on Brant Point on Nantucket. For winters and snowboarding, there's the 7,000 square-foot, $5 million Sun Valley, Idaho ski lodge—a 500-year-old English barn carefully dismantled, moved, and then reassembled stateside. When in Washington, the Kerrys stay in their $4.7 million Georgetown pad. And finally, in Fox Chapel, Pennsylvania, just outside Pittsburgh, is the nine-acre Heinz family farm, estimated at a relatively paltry $3.7 million.

If Kerry's birthright moved him directly from the batter's box to first base in the baseball game of life, his marriages have propelled him to second and third. All that's left now is the short trot to home plate—and that ultimate piece of real estate—1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

Should it matter—the wealth, the status, the lineage? Kerry is hardly the first Brahmin to seek the White House, and it could be argued that his privilege pales in comparison to that of George W. Bush. Bush, after all, is also the scion of two New England aristocracies, the Walkers and the Prescotts, with a prep-school diploma and two Ivy League degrees to show for it. Moreover, he is the son of a former U.S. President. A key difference, however, is that Republicans mostly eschew the politics of class warfare and the demonizing of wealth. Whereas the Democratic Party's brand of egalitarianism holds that all men should end up more or less equal, Republicans emphasize the classical liberal notion that all men should be equally free to attain whatever status or rewards they can.

The most privileged of a privileged group tell each other over and over that they are destined to become America's top leaders.

Democrats are the party of unions, the party that owns the vote of inner-city blacks, that throws around terms like "CEO" as an epithet. Sixteen years ago, the woman George W. Bush would eventually replace as governor of Texas, Ann Richards, stood before the Democratic National Convention and mocked his father as having been "born with a silver foot in his mouth"—to the howls and delight of the thousands in attendance. Now the party that made privilege a dirty word finds itself carrying the banner of an Ivy League patrician with an heiress wife. The ideological contortion is, if nothing else, amusing.

But ever since the ascendance of another Democrat, Andrew Jackson, to the White House in 1829, it has been crucial for candidates, especially wealthy ones, to evoke some sort of populist appeal. Jackson, a westerner, was the first President not to emerge from the New England or Virginia aristocracies, and though monied, he cleverly played up what would today be called his "outsider" image to win the election. Infamously, he opened his White House inaugural celebration to the public, resulting in a veritable mob scene that ultimately ended with the new President forced to escape through a back door. Nonetheless, the gesture solidified Jackson's reputation as a man of the people, a role that every subsequent Presidential candidate has tried to replicate.

Thus it was no less a Brahmin than FDR who would one day serve hot dogs to the visiting queen and king of England. And when the elder Bush campaigned in New Hampshire in 1988, he ditched the traditional coat and tie in favor of a bright blue ski jacket. Later, Bush tried to muster some populist appeal by declaring pork rinds his favorite snack food. Even though George H. W. Bush could never fully shake the snooty image, in his case, it didn't really matter—Ronald Reagan's coattails were more than enough to take him into the White House. But four years later, his not knowing the price of a gallon of milk, and his unfamiliarity with supermarket check-out scanners, would

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

prove devastating. Democrats successfully cited these as evidence that Bush was indifferent to middle-class plight in the midst of the early-1990s recession. In a race against a charming, self-made governor of Arkansas, the elitist Bush was toast.

Populism isn't a problem for Bush the younger, whose public image is far more Crawford than Kennebunkport. He wears cowboy boots and Stetsons, and speaks with a drawl that has its roots in Texas, not Connecticut. Even his religion marks a sharp deviation from the family tradition, abandoning Episcopalianism—the denomination of the American ruling class—in favor of an evangelical Christianity picked up at a men's Bible study in Midland, Texas. Democrats like to sneer at Bush's Texan persona as some sort of well-calculated act—"all hat, no cattle," they snicker—but if Texans accept him as the genuine article, it's hard to see why anyone else should quibble.

Kerry, on the other hand, has very little in the way of populist credentials. For much of his political career he pretended—or at least made little effort to correct the misperception—that he was Irish, which is a political advantage in much of Massachusetts, especially in many blue-collar areas where Kerry's Brahmin background might otherwise be a political liability. For example, there's the following Senate floor statement, attributed to Kerry in 1986: "For those of us who are fortunate to share an Irish ancestry, we take great pride in the contributions [of] Irish-Americans." Kerry now claims that staff entered the remark for him—he neither recited nor read it—but the comment marks just one of several examples in which Kerry, his aides, or his campaigns tried to benefit from a bogus claim to Irish ancestry.

Although the name Kerry comes from that of an Irish county, the senator came to it by way of his grandfather, Fritz Kohn, an Austrian Jew (and the lone non-blue blood in the senator's family tree) who changed his name to Frederick Kerry, converted to Catholicism, and immigrated to America in 1905. It was because of his grandfather's conversion that Kerry was raised a Catholic, which today inoculates him from the WASP label and keeps him from fitting the stereotype of a New England aristocrat perfectly. Yet as a political strength, Kerry's Catholicism is undermined by heterodox social views and some highly-publicized rebukes from various Catholic bishops. Besides, the Kennedys proved long ago that New England elitism is no longer the exclusive province of old-money Protestants.

For Kerry, the best way to shed the image of New England elitism is, conveniently enough, the same device he uses to demonstrate his "strength" on matters of national security—his service in Vietnam. The constant references to Kerry's four-month tour of duty are an unsubtle reminder that he's not just some rich kid who, say, served in a National Guard unit while the progeny of poorer folk died overseas. But while admirable, even his Vietnam experience points to his privileged past. In Skull and Bones, members are drilled on the notion of service. They dwell on morbid images of mortality as a way to appreciate that even their fortunate lot has but a short time on this mortal coil, and a profound responsibility to do good with the advantages they've been given. It was at Yale that an alum and fellow Bonesman, William Bundy—then an Assistant Secretary of State in the Johnson administration—strongly urged Kerry and some of his classmates to serve the nation in Vietnam. Kerry didn't enlist because his number was pulled in the draft (although he expected that it would be), or because a military career attracted him, but because he was moved by a noble and heartfelt—and unmistakably Brahmin—sense of obligation.

And, some suggest, political calculation. A longtime admirer of John F. Kennedy, Kerry saw the dividends that a distinguished military career could pay in a future political life. (These were the days when military service was still widely considered a prerequisite for the Presidency.) Thus, it was by no accident that Kerry went to Vietnam with the Navy, opting for the Kennedyesque assignment of a patrol boat. Even then, the political aspirations were widely apparent. As swift boat sailor Jerry Leads, who went on joint patrol missions with Kerry, told the *Boston Globe*, "We all knew he would run for President one day. You figure you got the initials, JFK, you are from Massachusetts, and you are on a gunboat. It wasn't hard to figure out."

So while Kerry's distinguished service no doubt wins him tremendous respect, it doesn't do much to shake the sense of New England elitism that he invariably radiates. Nor do his politics—the social liberalism, his preoccupation with gaining the approval of foreign leaders, his heavy reliance on Ted Kennedy to get him through the Democratic primaries. In a nation that doesn't mind leaders who walk with kings, as long as they don't lose the common touch, Kerry simply can't seem to put any separation between his upbringing and his personality because the former seems to so thoroughly infuse the latter.

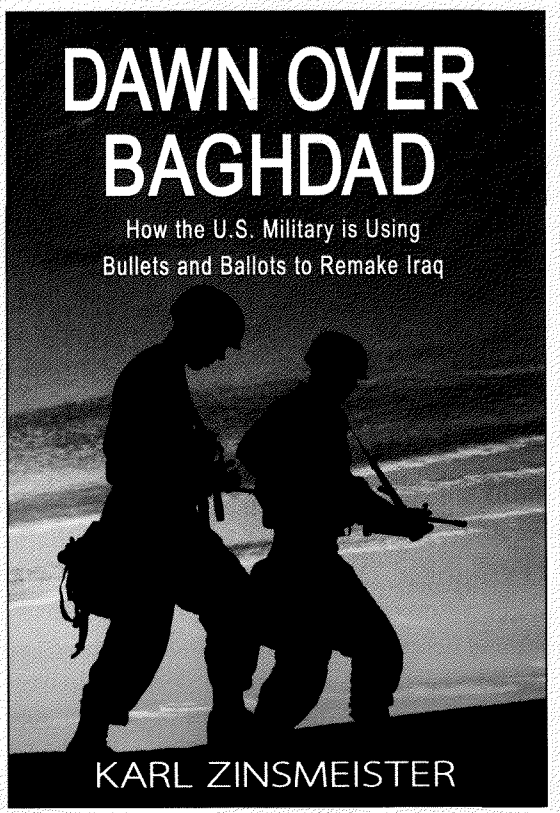
That, more than even the prep-school past or the bevy of mansions, is what might seal in the public's mind the image of Kerry as the aloof Northeasterner, the grown-up rich kid who simply can't relate to the experiences or values of most anyone else. It's not an elite, New England background that alienates voters outside the region, but elitist New England sensibilities, which are often conveyed in the Europhilic, libertine, and paternalistic politics of blue-state liberals.

The public cares less about privilege than about attitude, and George W. Bush is the ultimate example of that. Bush has plainly rejected many of his family's patrician ways (though not its wealth) in favor of a middle-American demeanor that seems to suit him better. Kerry, on the other hand, is more like Bush's father—the politician who, late in life, sees the need to feign a middle-class awareness, but can't do it convincingly.

For Kerry, the problem isn't where he comes from, but the way it's shaped the person he's become.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Maybe you're satisfied



...with major media coverage of the war in Iraq

BUT IF...

...you're hungry for fairer, more accurate perspective on the linchpin issue of this year's Presidential election and the most dangerous challenge now facing America

THEN...

...this book—the only one presenting the other side of the story on Iraq—is MUST reading.

Dawn Over Baghdad: How the U.S. Military is Using Bullets and Ballots to Remake Iraq takes a fresh, eyewitness look at today's guerilla struggle. It is built on extended embedded reporting straight from the most treacherous parts of the Sunni Triangle in early 2004, careful historical research, face-to-face polling of Iraqis, and unmatched observation of combat raids, interrogations, daily diplomacy, and reconstruction heroics.

This is a powerful, fair, original, and extremely timely report on America's most urgent national struggle, as seen through the eyes of ordinary Iraqis and the U.S. servicemen doing today's most difficult work.

This book includes 32 pages of striking, color documentary photographs.

Don't swallow the political orthodoxy and one-sided reporting. The biggest issue in the 2004 election is now clear: "It's the war, stupid." Make up your own mind!

— Available at bookstores everywhere —

Or order directly from *The American Enterprise* for immediate delivery for $20 (retail price is $25.95) with FREE shipping!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New England Factor

Has the Democratic Party moved to New England?

By Ken Von Kohorn

In the race for the 2004 Democratic Presidential nomination, tiny New England produced the top two contenders. Though Vermont's former governor Howard Dean eventually flamed out like a Roman candle, his candidacy usefully revealed the depth of Democratic hostility toward the Bush Presidency. With the Dean detritus cleared away, Massachusetts' Senator John Kerry had little difficulty tapping into rank-and-file anger and seizing the Democratic prize.

Apart from a pure geographic coincidence, is there anything about New England itself that might explain its prominence in the 2004 Democratic Presidential quest? Paradoxically, the answer may be revealed by the electoral impotence of a nearly-forgotten third New Englander: Joe Lieberman. The Connecticut senator enjoyed immediate recognition and credibility as Al Gore's 2000 running mate. But his pro-war views and centrist credentials proved unattractive to the Democratic faithful this time around. His Presidential candidacy devolved into something like driving through a small New England village: If you blinked, you missed it.

The contrast between the views of Joe Lieberman and those of his more successful New England peers in some ways mirrors the evolution of New England itself. In the beginning, New England was suffused with religious faith—its inhabitants brought their strong spiritual convictions to its shores. The muscular Christianity of founders like Massachusetts' John Adams informed governmental precepts we now take for granted, such as checks and balances (which presumes the fallibility of men). New England spawned great universities whose initial purpose was to train ministers. Yale's residential colleges still resound with names of New England's famed religious leaders: Timothy Dwight, Ezra Stiles, Jonathan Edwards. But over time, the great New England universities evolved into secular institutions—so much so that today's Ivy League scholars typically fail to understand or appreciate the importance of Judeo-Christian tenets to America's founding.

The Democratic Party, as an institution, has had a parallel evolution toward secularism. In recent years it has increasingly become the political home for those who are uncomfortable with the Bible Belt and its evangelicals. Blue collar "Reagan Democrats"—conservative on social issues and at ease with religious convictions—have dwindled in number as the leadership of the Democratic Party has moved away from policies informed by religious belief.

While campaigning in the South, Howard Dean's unsuccessful efforts to ingratiate himself with people of faith helped prove the point. Strike One: When asked to name his favorite book of the New Testament, he cited *Job*. Two: Dean acknowledged that he had left his church in Burlington, Vermont not on doctrinal issues, but over a dispute regarding a bicycle path. Three: A heckler at a campaign appearance insisted that the governor's acerbic criticisms of President Bush did not follow the Biblical admonition to "Love Thy Neighbor." Given a perfect opportunity to turn the other cheek, Dean instead railed that "George Bush is not my neighbor!"

Meanwhile, John Kerry has so far been unable or unwilling to appeal to voters who expect their leaders to exhibit religious convictions. Columnist David Brooks writes that, "Many people just want to know that their leader, like them, is in the fellowship of believers. Their President doesn't have to be a saint, but he does have to be a pilgrim. He does have to be engaged, as they are, in a personal voyage toward God…John Kerry doesn't seem to get this. Many of the people running the Democratic Party don't get it either."

Joe Lieberman gets it, but he was summarily rejected by the primary voters. His strong religious credential (he is an Orthodox Jew who refuses to campaign on the Sabbath), which undoubtedly would have appealed to many Christian evangelicals if given the opportunity to come before them, did him no good in his own party. (A recent *Time* poll indicates that 63 percent of Democrats say a President should not be guided by his faith when making policy, while 70 percent of Republicans say he should.)

So like the New England intellectual class, most Democrats have rejected mixing religion with politics. That in turn paved the way for Howard Dean and John Kerry, who are both very acceptable to those who distrust faith-based policy decisions. (Among the most secular Democrats, it may even be a plus for Kerry that some Catholic bishops have threatened to withhold communion from him due to his votes on abortion.)

What are the political implications of the current synergy between New England and the Democratic Party? As always, national security and the economy will serve as the main elec-

Ken Von Kohorn is chairman of the Family Institute of Connecticut, and heads Von Kohorn Research & Advisory.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

toral criteria. If a tiebreaker is needed, it might just turn out to be character. On that score, it seems likely that Bush may have an edge over Kerry—thanks in no small measure to his public profession of vigorous religious faith.

One could say that in 2004 the Democratic Party set up shop in New England, and did so at least in part because of a shared preference for secularism. And in this election year, for Democrats, that may ultimately prove a handicap.

Keeping Cool in New England

By Garrison Nelson

More than two centuries have passed in American political life, yet much has remained the same in terms of where we find and educate many of our Presidents—New England.

New England has played a surprisingly large role in the Presidency since 1789, when Founding Father John Adams of Massachusetts was elected the nation's first Vice President. Eight of 42 U.S. Presidents were born in New England: John Adams, John Quincy Adams, John F. Kennedy, and George H. W. Bush in Massachusetts; Chester Arthur and Calvin Coolidge in Vermont; Franklin Pierce in New Hampshire; and George W. Bush in Connecticut. Twenty-one Presidents can be traced back to seventeenth-century origins among New England colonists.

All of the native-born New England Presidents but Arthur were formally educated in New England's colleges. The extraordinary role of Harvard, Yale, and other private universities in educating Presidents—including seven non-natives (both Roosevelts, for instance, and recent Presidents Gerald Ford and Bill Clinton)—raises New England's total of native sons and adoring alumni to 15 of the 42 men who have served as President—a political prominence for the region well in excess of its population (just 5 percent of the nation). And a New England education now appears to be a requirement. All four major nominees in the 2000 election were educated at least in part at either Harvard or Yale (or both). Even the third-party candidate, Connecticut-born Ralph Nader, a 1955 Princeton graduate, also attended Harvard.

The Presidency's New England pedigree has actually increased over time. As the year 2003 opened, three of the six most-mentioned Democratic contenders for the 2004 Presidential nomination had some connection to New England: Connecticut-native Senator Joe Lieberman, a graduate of both Yale College and Yale Law; Massachusetts senator John Kerry, a graduate of St. Paul's School in New Hampsire, Yale University, and Boston College Law School; and former Vermont governor Howard Dean, a graduate of Yale. New Yorker Dean came to New England as a prep-schooler at St.George's in Rhode Island—the alma mater of Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, father to the nation's 41st President and grandfather to its 43rd.

New England's political renaissance over the past five decades is linked not only to its colleges and universities, but to the first-in-the-nation New Hampshire primary—an institution so revered in the Granite State that its legislature has mandated that it must always be the first primary held. Eight New England natives—John Kennedy (1960), Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1964), Ed Muskie (1972), Michael Dukakis (1988), George H. W. Bush (1988 and 1992), Paul Tsongas (1992), George W. Bush (2004), and John Kerry (2004)—have captured New Hampshire primaries in the past 12 elections.

What of New England's liberalism? The region's commitment to ethnic diversity is unparalleled. The first Roman Catholic President came from Massachusetts, as did the first two Roman Catholic Speakers of the House—John McCormack and Tip O'Neill. The nation's first Greek Orthodox Presidential nominee, Michael Dukakis, hailed from Massachusetts, and the first Jewish Vice Presidential nominee, Joe Lieberman, from Connecticut. Heavily Catholic Rhode Island was the first state to elect two Jewish governors—Frank Licht and Bruce Sundlun. Maine was the first state to send three elected females to the U.S. Senate. In 1964, Maine's indomitable Senator Margaret Chase Smith was the first woman to have her name placed into nomination for President at a major party convention, and in 1972, Massachusetts Republican Ed Brooke was the first black man popularly elected to the Senate.

During this year's primaries, as his increasingly strident anti-Bush applause lines generated more fervid enthusiasm from the party's rank and file, Howard Dean chose to expand his staged rage to include the Congressional Democrats, whom he contended lacked the political courage to confront the President. John Kerry was the primary target. Governor Dean's button-down 11-plus-year stint as governor had been so marked by fiscal conservatism and political centrism that he had been rewarded with Republican electoral support and a host of weak Republican opponents. But now Howard Dean had become the avenging angel of American left-liberalism. It caught many of us long-time Vermonters by surprise. It was certainly not the Howard Dean that we knew nor was it the Howard Dean that his fellow centrists in the Democratic Leadership Council had esteemed for so long. But it was the Howard Dean who rocketed upward in the opinion polls and whose campaign treasury quickly overflowed with $50 million in cash contributions from his 600,000 Internet-wired supporters.

Dean's over-heated rhetoric generated passion among his coterie (and delighted Republicans) but it led many Democrats to despair of his becoming the party's nominee. When his dismal third-place showing in the Iowa Caucus on January 19 triggered a not-very-New England-like rant that sent his campaign into a fatal tailspin, the sighs of relief from many Democrats were audible throughout the land.

John Kerry is the product of a mixed ethnic Massachusetts

Garrison Nelson, a Democrat, is professor of political science at the University of Vermont.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

family, with a paternal grandfather who was a Jewish Austrian immigrant and converted to Catholicism once in Massachusetts. Kerry's father Richard excelled academically at Yale. By marrying Rosemary Forbes, a descendant of the Massachusetts Bay Puritans, the Winthrops, Richard Kerry was able to provide his children with a Boston Brahmin bloodline and a lifestyle that gave them an ease of movement within New England's intellectual and financial upper crust. It is the Brahmins' sense of public duty and rectitude that manifests itself in John Kerry's willingness to enter combat service in Vietnam and his subsequent career as a state prosecutor. But the Brahmins' liabilities of perceived self-righteousness and aloofness are problematic in a nation that has become accustomed to the contrived folksy charms of our last two good-old boy Yalies—Bill Clinton and George W. Bush.

Kerry's coolness under enemy fire enabled him to perform heroically in Vietnam in the rescue of his crewmates. His coolness as a prosecutor won him his first statewide post as lieutenant governor and gave him entry into the Senate. His coolness as a senator has appeared in the intellectual grace he presents in debate. Kerry's cool style was appreciated by the overwhelming majority of Democratic primary voters.

Whether Americans will decide to "keep cool" with Kerry is the choice that awaits the country in November. New England has already decided.

Kerry and Dean: Democratic Leftism Continued

By Don Feder

With this year's Democratic National Convention in Boston, John Kerry as the nominee, and Vermont's former governor Howard Dean as the man who almost staged an upset in the primaries, there's talk of a takeover of the Democratic Party by New England-style liberalism—epitomized by the pointy-headed Harvard professor and the Vermont Birkenstock Bolshevik.

True, (with the honorable exception of New Hampshire) New England is quite possibly the most liberal section of the country. We have the highest number of colleges and universities per capita, and the lowest church attendance. Massachusetts' Congressional delegation could pass for the Red Brigade. Vermont was the first state to mandate civil unions. Massachusetts was the first to issue marriage licenses to homosexuals.

But a takeover? To say that Dean and Kerry have imposed their liberal values on the Democrats is like saying that Saudi Arabia has fallen to Islam, the current leadership of the National Organization for Women is turning it into a rabid feminist group, Ted Kennedy is starting to put on weight, and Barbra Streisand is beginning to babble. The national Democratic Party has marched in lockstep with the Loony Left for decades. Kerry and Dean represent a continuation of bolshevism-as-usual, rather than its triumph.

Kerry is rated one of the most liberal members of the United States Senate. During the primaries, by the time Dean stopped frothing at the mouth, he had managed to make Kerry look like a staid establishment figure. But do Kerry and Dean represent a departure from the Democrats' status quo? From Al Gore's balanced approach to the environment? From the integrity of Walter Mondale? From the pro-business posture of Mike Dukakis? From the America-first foreign policy of Jimmy

Don Feder, a former Boston Herald *writer, is a political and communications consultant.*

Mass Destruction

High taxes, super-sized government, extravagant spending, an imperial judiciary, and weird social experiments are the Democratic Party's weapons of *Mass* destruction. All were field-tested in the Bay State.

Massachusetts's current Congressional menagerie includes Senator Ted Kennedy, Barney Frank, James ("I love Fidel") McGovern, Ed Markey (who misses the Sandinistas), and Rep. Marty Meehan, who accused Bush of "grandstanding" as he rallied the nation after 9/11.

According to the NTU, the Massachusetts Congressional delegation is more dedicated to taxes and spending than is Vermont Representative Bernie Sanders—the only avowed socialist in Congress. Massachusetts is as much a one-party state as North Korea. The Democrats have had a 50-year stranglehold on the state legislature. The GOP, which caucuses in a broom closet, can't even muster enough votes to force roll calls or sustain a veto.

Like our politicians, our colleges and universities come from another galaxy. There's more anti-Americanism on Massachusetts' campuses than in the streets of Tehran or Ramallah. MIT linguist Noam Chomsky thinks Hamas are the Minutemen of the Middle East and Israel is Nazi Germany in a prayer shawl. Howard Zinn, Boston University professor emeritus, blames America for every act of aggression since the Peloponnesian War, and thinks Chomsky is a moderate.

If it was up to a majority of the Harvard faculty, America would have a marginal tax rate of 100 percent for annual incomes over $80,000, the Pentagon's budget would be transferred to Health and Human Services, George Bush (take your pick) would be tried for war crimes, and we'd be paying reparations to African Americans, Asian Americans, Native Americans, and Hispanics. Michael Moore would be head of the National Endowment for the Arts.

Even our cities and towns aren't immune to this lunacy. Cambridge and Amherst have their own foreign policy. (Each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Carter? From the fiscal responsibility of George McGovern?

Bill Clinton was reputed to be a New Democrat. But rumors of his moderation were greatly exaggerated. Only a Republican Congress kept him from raising taxes his last six years in office. Monica's playmate slashed defense spending while pushing new entitlement programs. His judicial nominees—including Supreme Court Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg and Stephen Breyer—are the most liberal ever appointed to the bench.

The last conservative left in the Democratic Party (and he barely has a foot in the door) is retiring Georgia senator Zell Miller, whose book *A National Party No More* laments the Democrats' steady leftward drift. Miller has endorsed Bush for re-election.

Conservatives—even those moderately so, or on a single issue—are as rare in the Democratic Party as synagogues in Saudi Arabia. Robert Casey, two-term Democratic governor of Pennsylvania, was a true blue-collar welfare statist. But Casey, a traditional Catholic, broke ranks with the Democrats on abortion, which made him a pariah in the party of inclusion. Despite being the governor of the fifth-largest state at the time, Casey was barred from speaking at the 1992 Democratic National Convention. Connecticut senator Joe Lieberman is another moderate-by-reputation only—based on his tendency to express occasional skepticism about racial quotas, and castigate Hollywood for splattering brain-matter and flashing flesh on-screen.

has disavowed "Bush's war" in Iraq.) Boston has its own immigration policy. (Several years ago, the city announced that its employees would no longer cooperate with the Feds in their search for illegal aliens.)

Above all, Massachusetts is a monument to gargantuan government—a cold-climate Cuba. We have the fourth highest per-capita state and local tax burden in the nation. There's a state income tax, a sales tax, a meals tax, and an auto-excise tax. Currently, the Massachusetts legislature is working on a way to tax air. That section of the Massachusetts Turnpike between Framingham and Boston (roughly 20 miles) is the most expensive stretch of toll road in the nation.

Not all of the state's boondoggles are locally financed. Boston's Big Dig, two miles of roadway running under the city (on which construction was completed this year), cost a staggering $14.6 billion—up from an initial estimate of $4 billion in inflation-adjusted dollars. This platinum-plated project was more than double the cost of the Panama Canal, in today's dollars. And while Massachusetts' politicians dreamed it up (it was a parting present to Tip from his Congressional colleagues), almost 60 percent of the total cost will be paid for with federal tax dollars.

The lethal combination of real estate taxes and regulations on new construction has driven the cost of housing through the roof. In a survey conducted by MassINC, Massachusetts' residents rated affordable housing their number one concern. In the same poll, 40 percent said their financial situation was fair or poor. Massachusetts is coming to resemble an old Eastern bloc state—with an elite at the top, huddled masses on the bottom, and no one in between.

In the cradle of the American Revolution, the nanny state reigns supreme. Republican Governor Mitt Romney recently signed into law a statewide ban on smoking in public places. But every year, 20,000 potheads congregate on the Boston Common for a so-called Freedom Festival, where they toke up in full view of the city's police.

The state where the shot heard around the world was fired has the most draconian gun laws in the land. In 1998, there were 1.5 million licensed firearms owners in the Commonwealth. Today, there are fewer than 300,000. Illegal possession of a single shell casing (forget the gun) is punishable by up to two years in prison. In its vigilant efforts to keep citizens from defending themselves, Massachusetts even requires a license to possess a can of pepper spray.

There's one more Democratic ideal fully realized in Massachusetts—a judiciary detached from both Constitutional restraints and reality. In May, the Supreme Judicial Court (the highest court in the Commonwealth) mandated homosexual marriage. A few years earlier, the SJC told organizers of Boston's St. Patrick's Day Parade that they had to accept a gay contingent. That was too much even for the U.S. Supreme Court, which unanimously reversed the decision.

The edicts of our state's high court read like the National Lawyers Guild on speed. In one of its more other-worldly decisions, the court held that nude dancing was protected speech. A dissenting justice speculated on the content of the message conveyed by the gyrations of strip-club performers. While he's attending the Democratic nominating convention, Bill Clinton may wish to conduct a fact-finding mission to The Golden Banana club.

Gone is the Massachusetts of Pilgrims and Puritans, of Minutemen and Tea Parties, of John Adams and Calvin Coolidge. If the militias of Lexington and Concord showed up at the Fleet Center for the Democratic bash, they'd be branded a bunch of right-wing, racist gun nuts and forced to undergo sensitivity training.

The Kerry Democrats have big plans for America. Massachusetts is a sneak preview. A decade ago, the Commonwealth unveiled a new license plate with the slogan: "The Spirit of Massachusetts Is The Spirit of America."

God forbid.

—Don Feder (An earlier version of this piece appeared at FrontPageMag.com.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

All of that changed when he became the Democratic Vice Presidential candidate in 2000, whereupon Lieberman discovered that he had always loved reverse racism and thought the movie industry was doing an exceptional job of entertaining and educating our children.

The roll call of Democratic luminaries reads like Jane Fonda's Christmas card list: Ted Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, Joe Biden, Dick Gephardt, Hillary Clinton, Maxine (burn, baby, burn!) Waters, John Edwards, Robert Reich, etc. The non-partisan National Taxpayers Union (NTU) rates members of Congress on every vote affecting taxes, spending, debt, and the regulatory burden—in other words, upsizing government. In 2003, the average Senate Democrat scored 19 percent—meaning the party as a whole voted against America's taxpayers 81 percent of the time. (House Democrats did slightly better, with an average score of 24 percent.) House Republicans sided with the taxpayer on 63 percent of all votes cast. Republican senators voted against big government 73 percent of the time. Kerry had an NTU taxpayers' rating of 14 percent, making him one of the biggest spenders in the Senate—but ranking only 3 percentage points lower than the average for Democratic senators.

The American Conservative Union (ACU) does its own Congressional rating based on votes on defense and social issues, as well as taxes and the economy. Last year, Senate Republicans scored 80 percent, compared to 18 percent for Democrats. Kerry's lifetime rating from the ACU is 5 percent, based on almost two decades of slavish devotion to the welfare state, isolationism, emasculation of the military, and Hollywood's social agenda.

A yawning chasm exists between the parties on the size and scope of government, the amount of their own earnings Americans will be allowed to keep, and whether America will defend herself. This ideological gulf isn't a recent phenomenon, but has spanned most of the postwar era.

Which groups have had the most influence on the national Democratic Party over the past 30 years? The Democrats' core constituency includes the National Organization for Women, the American Civil Liberties Union, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the AFL-CIO, and the National Education Association—not organizations normally associated with limited government, fiscal restraint, individual responsibility, and traditional values. The National Education Association boasted that its members comprised 10 percent of the delegates at the 2000 Democratic Convention. For Democratic Presidential candidates, speaking to the NAACP or an NEA convention is like a pilgrimage to Mecca for a devout Muslim.

The liberal takeover of the Democratic Party has been an ongoing project. In the 1960s, Democrats embraced high taxes, unrestrained welfare spending, and government as an all-purpose panacea. In the '70s and '80s, they went gaga for isolationism and a Lilliputian military. In the '90s, it was racial quotas, feminism, abortion on demand, and gay rights. Today, they are manning the barricades to fight the definition of marriage as the union between one man and one woman.

Instead of being the engineers, John Kerry, Howard Dean, Teddy Kennedy, and Barney Frank are passengers on a runaway train barreling down the track at breakneck speed. (Next stop, Utopia!) The course was determined long ago.

Land of the Free

The exception to New England liberalism is New Hampshire. Famous for the first primaries in Presidential elections, the "Live Free or Die" state has a laissez-faire approach to public policy, lacks generally left-leaning urban areas, and, of course, has no earned-income tax. These and other factors contributed to New Hampshire's ranking as Morgan Quitno Press's "Most Livable State" of 2004.

New Hampshirites attribute their current prosperity to the sense of community they have fostered over years of slow but steady growth. Caring but not overbearing neighbors are the key ingredients of New Hampshire's liberty-oriented local governance. Even the state's lack of glitzy metropolitan areas contributes to its appeal. While other states may rely on urban centers to attract businesses and tourism, picturesque New Hampshire's many pockets of activity have something for techies, tourists, and artists alike.

The libertarian Free State Project, a 6,000-member group dedicated to escaping federal government coercion by populating one state in the Union with libertarian-minded Americans, picked, where else, New Hampshire. Once 20,000 like-minded individuals have agreed to the few membership guidelines and have signed a statement of intent to move to the Free State, the entire brood will pack up families and furniture and relocate to New Hampshire within five years.

Such an unorthodox political movement has drawn concerns about its successful execution. Some worry about the effect a flood of new citizens will have on the state's current residents and institutions, including its overcrowded public schools. Ideally, of course, the new residents, who are ideologically opposed to government-funded institutions like public schools and welfare, wouldn't present an additional strain on state resources. Better yet, this constituency of 20,000 could have a positive effect on New Hampshire and national politics by electing national representatives dedicated to shrinking the size of the federal government.

Whether the Free Staters manage their exodus or not, the concern for the future is whether New Hampshire will influence the rest of New England, or whether the Granite State will become imprisoned by the Northeast Leviathan.

—Rachel Jurado is a George Washington University student.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Rise and Fall of Howard Dean and John Kerry

By Shawn Macomber

It's September 2002, I'm working as a reporter at a small New Hampshire newspaper and watching Vermont's governor Howard Dean stump for a New Hampshire state senator, allowing me to experience the Dean phenomenon firsthand.

"So you *are* running for President," I said, moments after he handed me a brochure emblazoned with "Howard Dean for President." Astonishingly, Dean snapped, "I never said that," before working himself up into a fury over a press that "makes up quotes." Twenty minutes later, back at the paper, the phone rings, and it's Dean, continuing the same tirade.

More surprising than Dean's infamous post-Iowa meltdown was that he'd been able to hold on as long as he had. The rise of Dean was not inevitable, and were it not for the Democrats' abysmal showing in the 2002 midterm elections, that particular angry imp would not even have been a historical footnote for 2004.

As it was, the donkeys severely misinterpreted the 2002 election results. They saw their losses as a mandate to toss out the so-called "third way" of the Clinton era, instead of looking at the election as an anomaly brought on by the reverberations of 9/11. The truth is, more than a few Democrats became Republicans on September 11, 2001, if only temporarily. The smart move would have been to wait out the storm until domestic issues (inevitably) came back into play. Instead of taking the long view and recognizing Bush's numbers would eventually come back down to earth, Democrats rashly decided they hadn't gotten their "message" out, blaming the moderate wing of the party for the failure. The mantra of the grassroots activists became "no time for politics as usual." Any hope of winning in 2004, therefore, depended on radicalism.

Dean—the angry governor from a small, socialist state—was especially well-suited for this calling. John Kerry, Dick Gephardt, and John Edwards cowered before Dean's growing popularity—trying to escape their own Iraq votes and stealing Dean's applause lines. Meanwhile, hawkish Joe Lieberman, held up as a party martyr since the election 2000 debacle, was openly derided by the grassroots as a "religious extremist."

A funny thing happened on the way to primary day, though: Bush's numbers dropped, the general election suddenly seemed winnable for the Democrats on more moderate terms, and the rank and file recoiled from Dean as if he were a white hot poker. But it was too late: The environment had already been radicalized. Kerry, who had been toiling in relative obscurity for months, was the beneficiary of Dean's implosion based on the ill-defined "electability factor"—which apparently translates to something like, "Oh, thank God, he's not crazy!" Three weeks before the New Hampshire primary, Dean had been drawing adulatory crowds 1,000 strong, while John Kerry was luring unenthusiastic dribbles of 50 with chili and free bowling passes. After Iowa, Dean wailed like a two-year-old for his lollipop that Kerry had stolen his shtick, but he still lost New Hampshire by nearly 20 points.

And so John Kerry, the Massachusetts liberal who happily cavorted with communists in South America and elsewhere, served as lieutenant governor alongside Michael Dukakis in his deep blue home state, and has the most liberal voting record in the United States Senate, became the moderate in the race.

Democrats themselves had the-now familiar complaints about Kerry: He was boring. He failed to energize audiences. He waffled. Edwards drew larger, more enthusiastic crowds than Kerry deep into primary season, but Edwards didn't get the votes. Why?

Mostly it comes down to a gun-shy party. Dean was scuttled because he had made Democrats the laughing stock of the country. Who can forget *National Review*'s "Please Nominate This Man" cover? Initially, Democrats actually liked the fact that Kerry was boring. He had *gravitas*, they gushed. By the time the reality of putting patrician, uptight Kerry up against the down-home charm of Bush dawned on them, it was impossible to change course again. They could recuperate from walking away early from Dean, but to jump to a third choice like Clark or Edwards this late in the game would weaken their hand too much. The game was Anybody But Bush, the cash had all been laid on John F. Kerry, and there was nothing to do but let it ride.

Democrats don't even try and feign excitement about the prospect of a Kerry administration. A group of DNC helpers signs up volunteers at my subway station every day. "Would you like to help defeat George W. Bush this November?" they ask.

Is there anything that drives this point home better than Kerry's forced choice of John Edwards as his running mate? Terry McAuliffe and all the rest of the Dem hacks weren't pushing this guy on Kerry as part of a Southern retrieval strategy. They hope it will be the antidote to Kerry's personality deficit. This is the fallout of the Dean phenomenon: Instead of a moderate Democratic ticket attempting to paint "compassionate conservatives" as closet members of the John Birch Society, we have the first and fourth most liberal members of the Senate, respectively, running on an anti-sovereignty, pro-United Nations ticket.

Call it the Year of Living Dangerously Liberal. Democrats traded strategy for emotionalism. They let the fact that their team lost "the game" in 2002 enrage them so badly that they took their eyes off the prize and started running headlong into walls. The only thing Democrats have going for them in November is the blind tribal political loyalties that characterize life in today's 50/50 nation. They certainly don't have the economy or national security on their side. If half the independents in this country remember September 11, the Kerry-Edwards ticket is toast. Why else would Democrats fight tooth and nail to keep any mention of that day out of Bush's campaign ads?

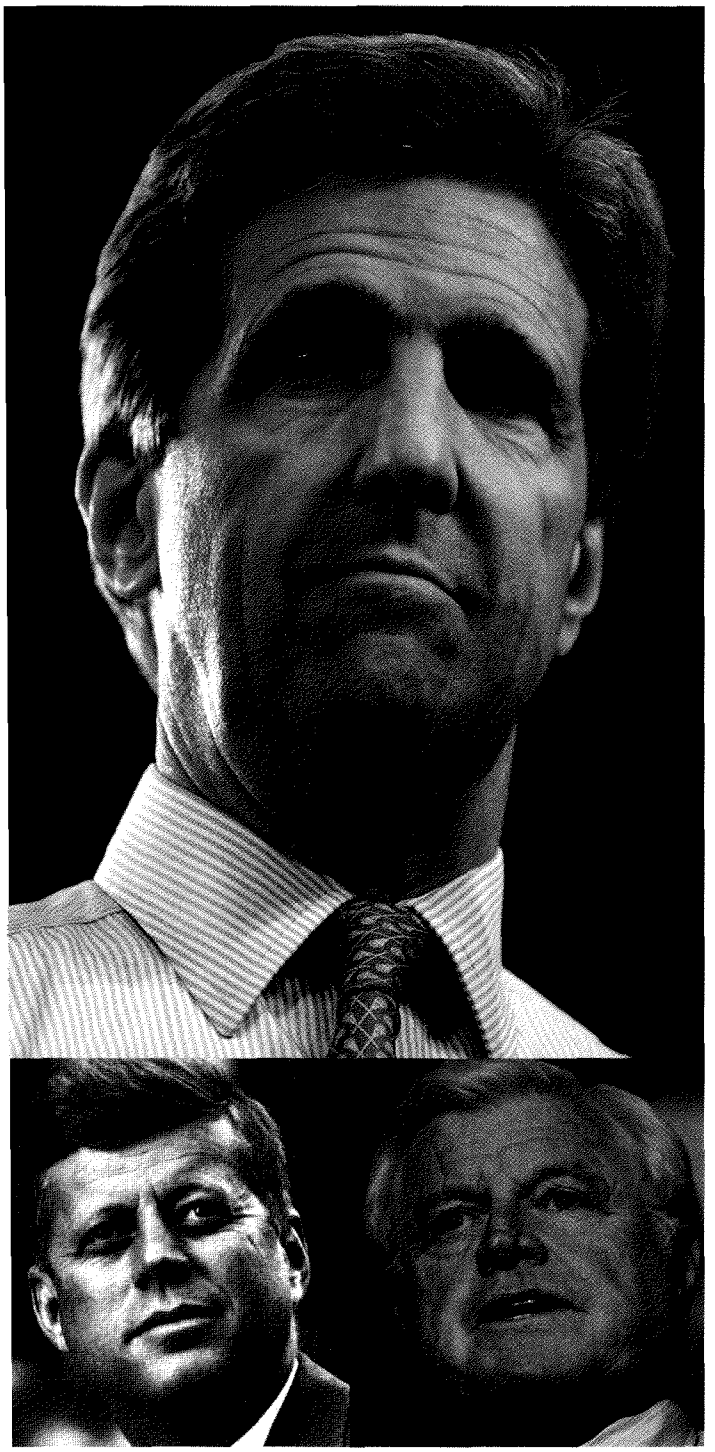
Shawn Macomber is a staff writer at The American Spectator.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Kennedy Connection

JOHN KERRY MAKES TEDDY LOOK GOOD

By Howie Carr



Senator John Forbes Kerry has an obsession with the Kennedys. John Fitzgerald Kennedy is, in many ways, his lifelong model. Kerry's signature Naval service, his first race for public office—all were modeled on the late President. But the JFK mimicry is not the problem. What *is* likely to cause problems for a possible President Kerry is the extent to which he has mimicked another Kennedy—youngest brother Ted, his fellow Massachusetts senator and warrior for the Left—in his views, his votes, and his choice of staffers.

By now the nearly indistinguishable voting records of the two senators are well known. Last year the two men voted the same way 93 percent of the time, reports the *Congressional Quarterly*. In four of the last six years, they voted the same way *100 percent of the time* on important issues.

Donna Brazile, Al Gore's campaign manager in 2000, has called Kerry "far more liberal" than Gore. In fact, as the Republicans have gleefully noted, Kerry's voting record, as tallied by *National Journal* and others, actually makes Ted Kennedy the more conservative senator from Massachusetts.

It was Ted Kennedy who tossed John Kerry a life preserver when his Presidential campaign appeared to be on its last legs last winter. Teddy provided a direct blood infusion, in the form of sending his 49-year-old chief of staff Mary Beth Cahill to take over the running of Kerry's campaign.

All you need to know about Cahill's politics is her list of earlier employers. She broke into Washington in 1980 by working for Barney Frank in his first campaign for Congress. She has run campaigns for Senator Pat Leahy (Dick Cheney's dear friend!) and for Representative Ed Markey (leader of the nuclear-freeze movement and other sideshows). Cahill also worked for Senator Claiborne Pell, another high-visibility New England liberal Democrat. Cahill then spent five years running Emily's List, the political action committee that funnels money to left-wing female Democratic candidates, and made it into a force to be reckoned with in national politics.

Last winter, Cahill took over a campaign buffeted by feuding factions. Just as Kerry never seems quite able to decide which side of an issue he's on, he's never been able to make up his mind from which set of aides to accept advice. Cahill arrived to impose some order on his campaign, and imported other Ted Kennedy acolytes like Stephanie Cutter (now Kerry's director of communications) to carry this out.

As for Ted himself, he did campaign for Kerry during the Iowa caucuses, but as Kerry rose in the polls, Ted appeared to back off. Kerry has always had a habit of lifting other pols' lines—during the primary season he, shall we say, borrowed, Dick Gephardt's line about holding George W. Bush to

Howie Carr, a columnist for the Boston Herald, *has spent most of his life in Massachusetts, and hosts of one of Boston's most popular radio shows on WRKO.*

Newscom.com/Zuma Press/Reuters Photo Archive/Agence France Presse

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

one term, "like father, like son." He so liked Howard Dean's declaration that Harry Truman was the first Democrat for universal health care, that he repeated it practically word for word.

Some of Kerry's borrowings from JFK have been obvious ("We can do better"); other lifts been more obscure. On the night of the Wisconsin primary, he put his arm around Teresa and said, "I'm getting to be the guy who accompanies Teresa around the United States of America, which is fine by me." Which bears more than a slight resemblance to this line JFK delivered in France on June 2, 1961: "I am the man who accompanied Jacqueline Kennedy to Paris, and I have enjoyed it."

On the afternoon of November 22, 1963, JFK was supposed to deliver a speech at the Trade Mart in Dallas. He never made it, of course, but the transcript survives, and includes this line: "We, in this country, in this generation, are—by destiny rather than by choice—the watchmen on the walls of world freedom." In a May 2004 Seattle speech, Kerry turned that into a wholly different proclamation: "We do not have to live in fear or stand alone. We don't have to be a lonely watchman on the walls of freedom." It's odd that Kerry would recycle a well-turned phrase from his hero into a renunciation of that same mentor's principles.

But then, Kerry has always had a sort of love-hate relationship with the Kennedy legacy. As recently as 11 years ago, until he managed to marry Teresa Heinz, John Forbes Kerry, scion of one of the oldest Brahmin families in New England, was living hand-to-mouth in the city of Boston, without even a permanent address, mooching off of friends and dicey supporters to cover his living expenses. And there was Teddy living on his trust funds, in a seaside mansion bought by his father, well supplied with boats and other accoutrements of the good life. Kerry tried to keep up with the Kennedys. In the mid 1980s, when Ted bought a new convertible, Kerry got the same model. But his striving was a pathetic charade—in the early 1990s he was reduced to taking free Buicks from a shady car dealer.

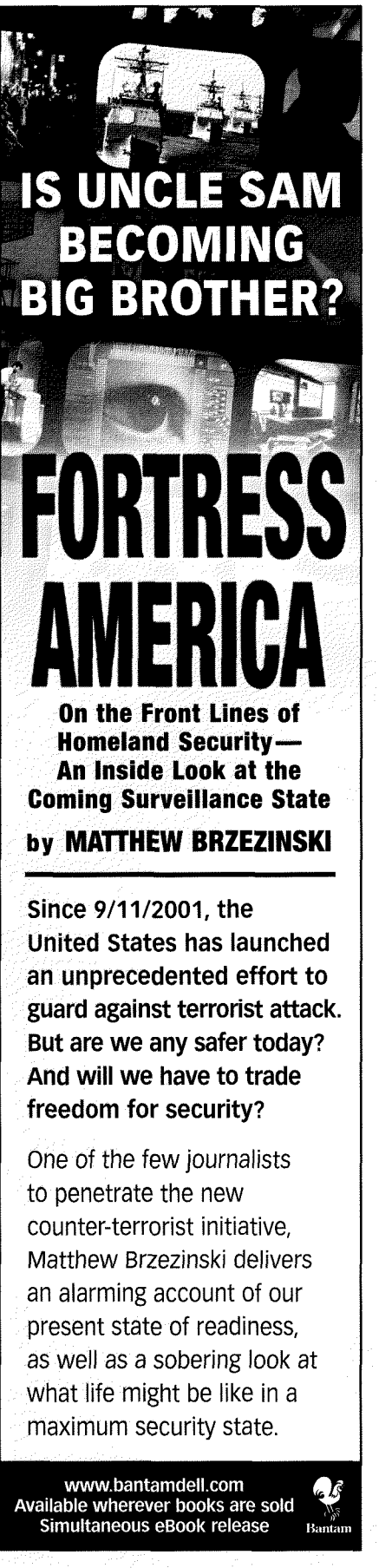
All that changed in 1995, when Kerry married the widow of Senator John Heinz, the Pennsylvania Republican who died in an airplane crash. For the second time, Kerry had hooked an heiress, this one worth a billion dollars. Money changes everything, and it changed Kerry's relationship with Ted. As Ted was forced to sell his getaway mansion in Palm Beach after the family trust funds began to dissolve, Kerry suddenly had access to at least $60 million worth of real estate and a $35 million Gulfstream jet.

Wherever he went, Kerry now traveled in sleek, gas-guzzling SUVs. Kerry always had a hankering for ostentatious toys—in the early '90s, when he was flipping condos for spending money and giving no money at all to charity, claiming he was broke, he somehow was able to scrap together the dough to buy an expensive imported Ducati motorcycle (which has now been replaced by a Harley). More recently, the Heinz trust fund bought him an $8,000 bicycle, a Serrotta. He let his fingernails grow long, the better to pluck his new classical guitar.

Freed of all monetary concerns, Kerry's voting record went further and further left. In the early 1990s, worried about a well-heeled Republican challenger like Governor William Weld, Kerry would occasionally tack right on issues. For a short time, he supported the balanced-budget amendment. In speeches (as opposed to legislation), he briefly questioned the power of teachers' unions and the fairness of racial quotas. But he quickly hurried back to the reservation of liberal orthodoxy when people squawked.

Sometimes Kerry still shows off a bit of the old Kennedy touch. Like JFK, he pronounces idea "idear." And like Teddy, he seems to be able to get away with anything. In July, he announced that life begins at conception, an astounding statement considering that he votes to keep even partial-birth abortions legal. A liberal columnist for the *Boston Globe* called up the national spokeswoman for NARAL and asked her if she, too, was shocked by Kerry's pro-life epiphany. The abortion advocate chuckled and told the columnist to lighten up. She knew better than to take John Kerry at his word.

Oddly enough, that may be the biggest difference between John Kerry and Ted Kennedy. Whatever else you may think of Teddy, when it comes to politics, at least, his word is good.

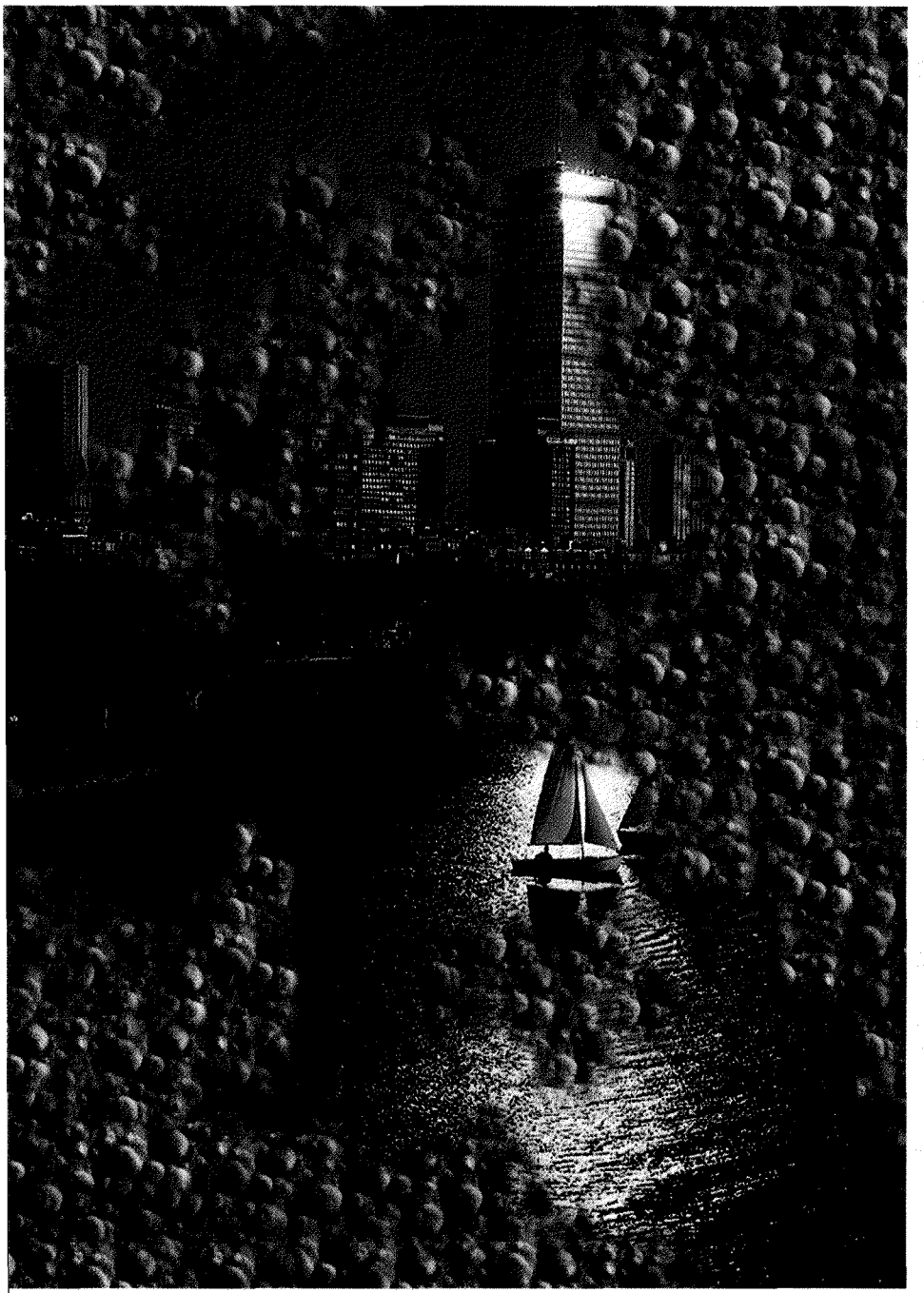


LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Moldy Massachusetts Miracle

ELITISM DOESN'T WORK WELL IN ECONOMIC POLICY EITHER

By Joel Kotkin



Amidst the coverage of John Kerry's nomination in Boston last summer, the region that produced him—New England—received remarkable little intelligent scrutiny. For the most part, the area was portrayed as quaint, idiosyncratic, and brainy, a kind of screwball seafood stew of Harvard, the Red Sox, and ethnic diversity spanning Yankees, Italians, Irish, and a host of more colorful recent newcomers.

Some suggested that New England also provides a compelling economic model for the rest of the country. "What New England has achieved economically," gushed *Newsweek*'s usually sensible Robert Samuelson, "is precisely what Democrats aspire to do politically."

There is a long tradition of looking to New England as an exemplar of what is best in America. This is particularly marked among the Eastern elites, many of whom have fond college and graduate school memories of the region. Yet as one looks at contemporary America—more Southern, more Western, and less Eastern than at any time in its history—New England may be an odd place for a national party to search for role models.

This is all the more true since New England isn't exactly booming. Over the past quarter century, John Kerry's native land has created far fewer jobs than the rest of the country, many of its people have moved elsewhere, and it has lost its position as high-tech Mecca to other parts of the country.

Massachusetts is particularly troubled. Between May 2001 and May 2003, Massachusetts alone lost over 110,000 jobs. Just since 2002,

Joel Kotkin is Irvine fellow at the New America Foundation. He is the author of The City: A Global History, *to be published early next year.*

Newscom.com/Index Stock Imagery

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

some 40,000 workers have dropped out of the Boston job market. After enjoying a small population gain in the 1990s, the city itself has been losing residents since 2000.

In most of the country, such developments would have local elites in a state of panic. But in New England, particularly around Boston, the response has been along the lines of "What, me worry?" Doug Fisher, director of economic development for Northeast Utilities, one of the region's primary providers of electrical power, traces this odd phenomenon to the fact that the area's dominant leadership, including the university-centered intelligentsia, are getting along just fine.

"The sad fact is that there is little room for upward mobility here," laments Fisher, whose firm is headquartered in Hartford and covers some of the region's more decidedly blue-collar areas. "Our situation here is not sustainable. There are storm clouds coming in, but it's hard to get the leadership to pay attention."

Many local economists and business leaders, Fisher adds, increasingly do not focus on job creation, but on creating as much wealth per capita as possible. This notion, described by Case Western Reserve economist Paul Gottlieb as "growth without growth," represents an economic politics suited for the entrenched professoriate, land-owning gentry, media types, and stock market operators who increasingly dominate the finances of the Democratic Party.

"The real argument here is between jobs and income," believes Fisher. "We still have plenty of money, and people think that's all that matters. We are becoming an economic development cul-de-sac and a lot of people like that." The idea that that would resonate with Democratic tradition, however, seems peculiar at best.

The prescriptions now pushed by most New England Democrats favor regions with little population growth, particularly those with a dearth of children—the little tykes have quite a negative impact on per capita income. The ultimate hell-holes, by their standards, are places with strong rates of in-migration and family formation, like Phoenix, Houston, Las Vegas, or San Bernardino-Riverside.

As a California Democrat and Bush opponent, I find it distressing to see this kind of perspective gaining currency in my party. At its heart, New England-style economics replaces more traditional populist notions such as commitment to expanding opportunity for families and small businesses with an ethic that favors instead the environmental, cultural, and economic preferences of people who already have wealth and property.

Such politics seem self-destructive—and unlikely to have much attraction in those parts of the country, such as the West and the South, still experiencing major population growth. It may appeal to those who already have achieved a wonderful lifestyle and simply want to maintain it, but it does nothing for those who still seek to create their own American dream.

For much of American history, New England served as a crucible for economic progress. In colonial times, when most Americans lived off sustenance farming or from the export of tobacco or cotton, New Englanders were plying the seas for fish, exporting timber, dealing in slaves, rum, and salt. Despite the intellectual and spiritual pretensions of their assumed "betters," New Englanders were primarily a commercial people.

After its '80s boom, the tech-driven Massachusetts economy went deeper into the tank than any other part of the country.

Leadership in the region fell increasingly to a new independent mercantile class, whose dissatisfactions with imperial oversight helped spark the revolution. Southern gentry might have resented parliamentary interference, but for the Boston merchant, taxes were the most intolerable affront.

By the time of the Revolution, Boston was no longer the nation's largest city, outdone by both Philadelphia and New York. These cities' climates were milder, and their rivers led directly to the expanding West. New England became increasingly isolated within a sprawling nation.

After a period of decline, though, New Englanders used their greatest resource—their entrepreneurial spirit—to reshape their region, and in the process the nation. Using technology stealthily acquired from Great Britain, New England began to develop powerful textile and other manufacturing industries. By 1836, near 5,000 people—mostly farm girls from surrounding communities—worked in the spinning mills of Lowell alone.

By the 1850s, however, New England's locational disadvantages and the greater allure of other cities—not only New York and Philadelphia, but new cities such as St. Louis, Chicago, and Cincinnati—were again diminishing the region's economic allure. It remained the "Athens of America," its most prolific intellectual region, but was relegated to a secondary role to the new Rome evolving further south.

Boston's decline accelerated early in the twentieth century. An often vicious class and ethnic warfare broke out between the old Brahmin Protestant establishment and a restless immigrant population, largely Irish. In the 1920s and 1930s, particularly under the demagogic Mayor James Michael Curley, Boston turned on its arrogant and overweening Brahmin elite. Calling the Anglo-Saxon population "a joke," Curley created a vast municipal welfare state and did much to chase away business.

"Curley did to Boston what Marion Barry later did to Washington," notes urban historian Fred Siegel. Certainly, the Curley legacy placed Boston further at the periphery of American economic life. For nearly a half century, Boston and New England in general declined, as New York, Chicago, and the sprawling sunbelt cities assumed national leadership.

Then in the 1960s New England began to reinvent itself yet again. In part, this reflected a triumph of assimilation. The children and grandchildren of rough-edged Irish immigrants and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New England economics appeals to professors, "consultants," wealthy executives, and elite journalists. It is from this world that we can expect Kerry to draw his domestic agenda.

ward bosses now had attended elite schools and colleges. The Kennedys, of course, epitomized this trend, and served as models for many others, including descendants of other European immigrants from Italy, Greece, Russia, Portugal, and Quebec.

It was largely from among these second and third generation hyphenated Americans that the "Massachusetts miracle" found its life. Edson de Castro, Modesto "Mitch" Maidique, George Hatsopolous, An Wang, Amar Bose—all were prominent figures in this remarkable turnaround which married the region's traditional intellectual strength with the ambition and drive of relative newcomers.

By the 1980s, at a time when New York State and the industrial cities of the Midwest were suffering from industrial obsolescence, New England was leading the nation into the information age. The explosion of technology companies along the Route 128 corridor outside Boston, and the development of a strong financial service segment in the city, led to a broad revival of the region.

Boston, a city that had eschewed the first phase of high-rise construction in the early part of the century, now boasted towers that reached the sky. Once a net sender of talent to other cities, New England, particularly Boston, now attracted educated people from around the country, including New York City. Indeed, former New Yorkers dominated many of the most exciting locally based enterprises, including *Inc.* magazine, where I worked for five years and which emerged as the Bible for the entrepreneurial revolution of that decade.

By the end of the 1980s, the notion of the "Massachusetts miracle" was attractive enough to help nominate its governor, Michael Dukakis, as the Democratic candidate for President. Dukakis may have been lambasted by the Republicans as a typical tax-and-spend liberal, but in Massachusetts terms, he was seen as a reformer of the state's archaic government system.

The 1988 election, however, demonstrated the limitations of the Massachusetts model. Running against George H. W. Bush, himself a New Englander turned Texan, Dukakis's plea for economic rationalism in the Massachusetts mold seemed oddly out of touch and elitist, and lacked the broader appeal of sunbelt oriented, low-tax, small-government doctrine that Bush inherited from President Ronald Reagan.

Yet for the future of the Democratic Party, the Dukakis nomination may be seen as decisive, its influence growing even after the man himself became an asterisk. Over the next decade, Dukakis-style elitist liberalism replaced the industrial-union theology—based largely in the Midwest, and increasingly corrupted and anachronistic—that had dominated the economic views of Democrats previously.

Soon a whole host of academic and planning gurus, mostly based at elite New England schools, was anxious to tutor Democratic politicians and teach the nation lessons from the Massachusetts playbook. The new party gurus were men such as Harvard's Robert Reich and MIT's Lester Thurow. They embraced state-directed capitalism, which they insisted was working brilliantly in Germany and Japan.

In his most prominent works, Reich, who now advises Senator John Kerry, dismissed much of the American individualist tradition in economics, in favor of an "industrial policy" which would allow academics and government officials to steer the American economy. America's relatively unorganized and free-form economic culture, Reich argued in 1983, made it "ill-prepared" for the new high-tech era, particularly compared with competitors with activist governments.

These ideas had been widely adopted by Massachusetts Democrats like Dukakis. Later on, they were picked up, half-heartedly, by Reich's old friend Bill Clinton. But Clinton's keen sense of politics, and perhaps his background as a Southern governor, ultimately made him less enamored of statist models.

In Massachusetts, though, such ideas never went out of favor. The idea of rule by the best and brightest has had a long tradition in New England. Governors, both Republican and Democrat, embraced ideas such as cultivating higher-end industrial "clusters" and pouring state funds into higher education. Appealing to Ph.D.s had become the *sine qua non* for the regional economy.

The "Massachusetts miracle"—and its growing appeal to liberals elsewhere—reflected a major shift in Democratic class politics. Modern Massachusetts-style economic liberalism had none of the populist touches pushed by earlier icons like Walter Mondale and Hubert Humphrey. That's one reason why John Edwards had to be melded onto the Kerry ticket. Epitomized by Dukakis, Reich, and Thurow, the Massachusetts economic ethos focuses heavily on high-pay sectors and their workers. Think of it as "trickle down" economics legitimized by academic credentials.

This form of economic liberalism, not surprisingly, appeals to members of the elite media, many technology company executives, investment bankers, venture capitalists and, perhaps most of all, the professoriate, particularly those who make money as "consultants." Those groups now also make up a large part of the Democratic Party financial base. Their elite neighborhoods, including the leafy suburbs of Boston and other cities, are now as integral to the party's lifeline as the black inner city, and arguably

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

much more influential. It is from this world, with its epicenter in Massachusetts, that we can expect a Kerry administration to draw its domestic agenda.

The problem with Massachusetts-style economic policy lies in its statist presuppositions. The industrial policy approach so eagerly embraced by the Bay State intelligentsia has failed miserably in Europe and elsewhere. Instead of racing ahead of the U.S. cowboy capitalists, countries relying on state "industrial policies" have eaten American dust for more than a quarter century. Bill Clinton quickly gave up on his original idea of fashioning new government-directed economic plans along the lines of Germany.

But one needn't look abroad for cautionary examples. Massachusetts' role as a high-tech model must also be viewed quite critically. After its '80s boom, the tech-driven Bay State economy went deeper into the tank than any other part of the country. Not only did its old industrial base contract, but large parts of its spiffy "new" economy dissipated. As a region, New England suffered among the worst effects of any place in the country. It would not be until the mid- to late-1990s that the New England economy would show strong signs of growth.

In some senses, the early 2000s represent a repeat of the previous New England recession. After a rapid run-up in the dot-com era of the late '90s, the Massachusetts economy has again slowed far more damagingly than the national average. Even more than before, the downturn is centered in the very pride of the economy—its high-tech and financial-services industries.

Conservatives and Republicans tend to blame New England's problems on the relatively high taxes in the region. Yet, as noted by Michael Goodman, an economist at the University of Massachusetts' Donahue Institute, the notion of "Taxachusetts" as an anti-business hellhole needs to be re-thought, in part due to a long recent period where business-minded Republicans have held Massachusetts' governorship. (The rest of the government remains overwhelmingly Democratic.)

New England's gravest problems, Goodman suggests, actually lie in geographic and demographic issues. "By the 1990s the nature of our problems really changed," Goodman believes, "from being one of the cost of business to the cost of living."

Throughout the 1990s, Massachusetts lost 83,000 more college-educated residents than it attracted—among the worst rates in the country. Although young people continued to swarm to the region's excellent schools, when they hit their 20s and 30s, they tended to leave for neighboring New Hampshire or places like California, Colorado, Florida, Texas, or North Carolina.

Behind these numbers lies a broader demographic decline. Simply put, New England, especially Massachusetts, is not producing future citizens. Boston, in particular, is rapidly becoming a "childless city" (like Seattle and San Francisco).

For an area whose greatest asset is its youthful brainpower, this population erosion suggests a deepening crisis. Like many European countries, the region, Massachusetts most of all, seems unwilling to expand its job base, its communities, and its stock of housing enough to keep prices within reason. Because of limits to growth, the cost of housing continues to soar in New England even amidst a weak economy. That's good for tenured professors who bought their homes in Brookline 20 years ago, but terrible for others just getting started.

New England's liberal elites will barely notice as jobs, and young families, leave their states.

If New England wants to prosper again, it may have to eschew the elitism of the "Massachusetts miracle" and focus on rebuilding its economy not on a narrow set of industries determined by the cognitive elite, but on a broader, more expansive basis. By dismissing most older industries and favoring the notion that it is only the much ballyhooed "creative class" that matters, New England is turning its back on people who, although they lack Ph.D.s, can be good workers, citizens, and business generators in a local economy.

"Energy accomplishes more than genius," Victorian moralist Samuel Smiles observed. To succeed, New England needs both—well-trained minds and hungry, grasping people whose work ethic and street smarts allow them to produce economic bounty. The region's newer immigrants in particular, though they may lack "information age" skills, need the kind of opportunities for upward mobility that they now find in places like Houston, Los Angeles, or Florida. If given more freedom to be productive they can become engines of fresh prosperity.

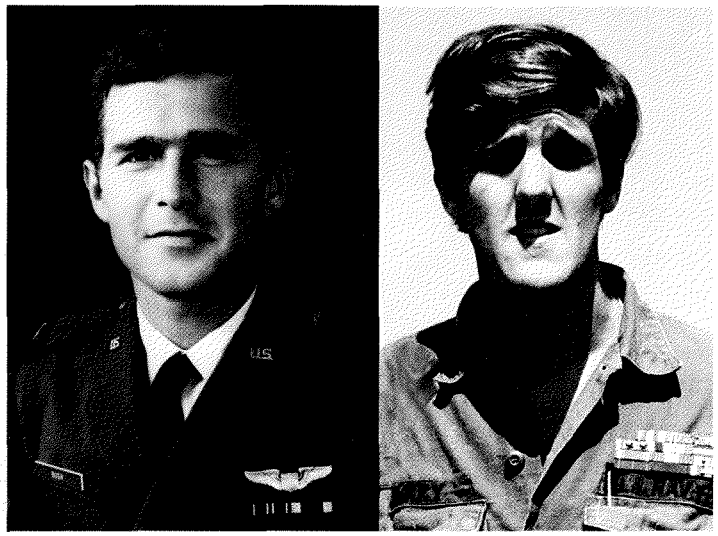
Unfortunately, New England's looming demographic crisis "is not defined as a problem" in most of the region, according to Goodman. In fact, some of the area's intellectual elites would welcome population decline and job stagnation. Life in a "cul-de-sac" with little new traffic coming in or out has its appeal to those whose bank accounts are already full. "This has become a center of myopia and arrogance," believes Mike Levin, editor of *New England Development*, a local economic newsletter.

New England's liberal elites—many of them enjoying inherited wealth or assured positions in academia—will barely notice as jobs, and young families, leave their states. Such a reversal will not affect the people who enjoy homes on the Cape or Beacon Hill, or those who collect their annuities, cash state paychecks, or reap huge consulting fees. Showing off their degrees and pedigrees, they will continue to present themselves as the nation's natural leaders.

And they will do so until the rest of America stops listening or caring.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Vietnam) The War for the White House



Newscom.com/Getty/Reuters Photo Archive

Pick a President, Not a Gladiator

By Jim Bohannon

I don't care that much if John Kerry inflicted his own wounds with accidental ricochets. Or that the Bay Hap river convoy may not have come under enemy fire. Or that Kerry may have recreated battle scenes for home movies and inflated battle accounts to hotdog his way to some politically useful glory. Or that Kerry may not have ducked in time while blowing up a cache of Viet Cong rice. Or that Kerry may or may not have ended 1968 decorating Christmas trees in Cambodia.

I care a great deal about what Kerry did *after* his combat service. But by all accounts, John Kerry went and served when he could have pulled strings and deferred his way out of harm's way. I also don't care so much that another son of privilege, George W. Bush, got to the head of a very long line to get into the Texas Air National Guard, as opposed to duty in a war zone. I'd much prefer a system of greater fairness, but Bush was hardly unique, and he did serve. He didn't play the deferment game (which would also have been quite legal). And flying aging jet fighters isn't the best way to keep your life insurance rates low.

We have two men of unquestioned courage, presumed honor, and sometimes incomplete memory, firing salvos at each other while the whole country watches. But does anybody remember what this whole exercise is about? It's about picking a President of the United States.

If we were selecting contestants for some bizarre reality show maybe I'd see the point in checking the candidates' testosterone dipstick. Suffice it to say neither of these men seems to be a quart low. If world leaders resolved international disputes in hand-to-hand combat, I'd care whether my President flexed a six-pack of abs and flossed with barbed wire. But they don't, and therefore I don't. What I do care about are indications of how each of these men might perform in office. That's why I'm looking more at political records than military records.

In the case of President Bush, a four-year term nearly completed in the White House will do. His administration has had little to do with the issues of education and Social Security reform on which he campaigned. But the President has certainly compiled a record on *the* issue of our times—defense and national security—from which judgment is easily derived.

In the case of John Kerry, we've got his 20 years in the U.S. Senate, which ought to serve nicely as an indicator of how a President Kerry might act, even if candidate Kerry seems intent on running against portions of his own voting record. (Doubling support for Special Forces? Increased backing of intelligence gathering? Senator Kerry would never have voted for what candidate Kerry proposed in his acceptance speech.)

And then we come to those words and actions of Kerry after his combat service. And, no, I'm not talking about his medals and/or ribbons. I'm talking about his statements, before the Senate and elsewhere, alleging widespread American atrocities in Vietnam committed "with the full awareness of officers at all levels of command." Several things about that: First, it's demonstrably false. To the contrary, U.S. forces used some of the greatest

Jim Bohannon served with the 199th Light Infantry Brigade in Vietnam from April 1967 to April 1968. He is host of the "Jim Bohannon Show" and "America in the Morning," heard on nearly 500 radio stations nationwide.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

restraint in the history of armed conflict, taking countless casualties in the course of trying to protect civilians, many of whom may not have been so innocent. It wasn't the American side who sent children carrying hand grenades walking up to G.I.'s, to kill kids and soldiers alike. It wasn't the American side who, during the Tet Offensive of early 1968, sent children armed with sticks and high on opium out in the first wave against the defenders of Long Binh, using these youngsters as cannon fodder to draw U.S. tracer fire and reveal our positions for the second wave, the one with the AK-47s. And while communists were getting prizes for concocting and executing such barbarism, the U.S. was prosecuting its own soldiers whenever a My Lai was discovered.

There's an important distinction here that no one is making: Kerry's actions in combat have little bearing on how he'd conduct the Presidency. Kerry's views, stated in his anti-war days and during his time in the Senate, presumably do indicate how he'd act in the White House. If John Kerry has had some kind of road-to-Damascus epiphany, he should share it with us: "I know my anti-war statements gave aid and comfort to an enemy which held out longer and inflicted more casualties because of people like me. And I now regret that." Or "I know that my voting record is at considerable variance with what I'm proposing to do as President in the war on terror. Here's why." I'm willing to listen. And vote accordingly.

But in the meantime, pardon me if I change channels the next time an argument breaks out on the pros and cons of why Kerry was picking rice fragments out of his backside four decades ago.

A DECADES-LONG REFUSAL TO ATONE

By Jan Golab

When I was an anti-war protestor on the streets of Chicago at the 1968 Democratic Convention, I discovered that movement organizers like Tom Hayden were not merely anti war, but pro communist. They actually wanted North Vietnam to *defeat* the United States. I was troubled by this, but in my fuzzy political state didn't change my views.

After the Kent State shootings in the spring of 1970, I became part of the student mob that shut down our nation's universities. At my school, the University of Illinois in Champaign/Urbana, our professors cancelled classes for nearly a week to hold "Vietnam teach-ins." This was a nationwide phenomenon that allowed us to ditch classes, hang out on the quad, get high, and hustle hippy chicks. Many students waved North Vietnamese flags and hoisted Mao's *Little Red Book*. Lefty professors and anti-war agitators were brought in to deliver screeds against imperialist "Amerika" and explain "the truth" about the war in Vietnam. Appearances by Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW)—the Knights Templar of the anti-war movement—were *de rigueur*.

We were taught that the Viet Cong were not repressive totalitarians like the Soviets or Chinese. They were the *nice* communists. The war in Vietnam was an "agrarian people's uprising" by peace-loving rice farmers who just wanted to share, hold hands, and sing peace songs. Amerika, meanwhile, was an imperialist oppressor.

Kerry lionized Ho Chi Minh and ignored Soviet support and training of the North Vietnamese.

Millions of college kids like me bought into these political fantasies, handed down, like jugs of wine laced with bad acid at a rock concert, by movement stars like Jane Fonda and that Kennedyesque Navy dude from VVAW…what was his name? I forget, I was too stoned…oh yeah, John Kerry.

Kerry, of course, had become an overnight superstar by voicing false claims and hearsay, much of it from phony vets, at an April 22, 1971 Congressional hearing where he equated U.S troops to the mutilating monsters who rode with Genghis Kahn. In another speech that year, Kerry declared: "Those of us who have served in Vietnam know that the real guilty party is the United States of America." Years later, while running for President in 2004, Kerry wasn't making any retractions. He explained that he was "young and angry" in 1971 and perhaps his language was "a little over the top." But no admission that he broadcast heinous lies.

Perhaps even worse than his depiction of our troops, however, was his depiction of the enemy. During his 1971 testimony, Kerry lionized Ho Chi Minh, ignored Soviet support and training of the North Vietnamese Army, and claimed that the Vietnamese "didn't know the difference between communism and democracy" and that their simple needs could be satisfied "with almost any kind of political structure." He also accused the U.S. of being "paranoid about the so-called communist monolith," stating, "I think it's bogus, totally artificial. There is no threat."

That same week he threw away his combat decorations, which he later admitted weren't his. Then he appeared, with another guest, on the Dick Cavett Show. "Nobody believes that there will be a blood bath if we withdraw," Cavett opined. "That was a cliché we used to hear a lot. Neither of you believes that, do you?"

"There'd be no interest on the part of the Vietnamese to start massacring people after the U.S. has pulled out," Kerry responded. While running for Congress in 1972, Kerry again repeatedly denied that sudden withdrawal would cause problems. (As a McGovern volunteer in 1972, I regurgitated this anti-war talking point a thousand times.)

Jan Golab, a former editor with Los Angeles Magazine *and* Playboy, *is the author of* The Dark Side of the Force: A True Story of Corruption & Murder in the LAPD.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Kerry remains utterly disconnected from the consequences of his efforts to block the Vietnam War. So he has repeated his misjudgments in the Senate.

To this day, Kerry has not admitted how dead wrong he was about the disaster that followed the U.S. capitulation: *Three million dead.* At least 750,000 South Vietnamese forced into "reeducation" camps, where many died. More than a million refugees fleeing the country. The Khmer Rouge slaughtering 2 million people in the Killing Fields next door. The nightmare of the Boat People.

Like many 1960s leftists, Kerry remains utterly disconnected from the historic consequences of his efforts to block the war. Whatever their motivation at the time, he and his fellow travelers have never accepted a smidgen of culpability for the horrors that ensued. They cling desperately to the belief that their protests saved lives, and they simply can't say the words, "We were wrong."

In the Vietnamese Communist War Remnants Museum in Ho Chi Minh City (Saigon), a photo taken in 1993 of John Kerry being greeted by the general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Comrade Do Muoi, hangs in a room dedicated to American anti-war activists. Bui Tin, the North Vietnamese officer who accepted the surrender of South Vietnam on April 30, 1975, described the American anti-war movement as "essential to our strategy." America lost the war, Tin explained, because "through dissent and protest it lost the ability to mobilize a will to win."

Since being elected to the Senate in 1984, Kerry has repeated his Vietnam misjudgments. He has never spoken harshly of Soviet totalitarianism, or criticized Cuban intervention in Central America. He opposed President Reagan's support of the Contras in Nicaragua, and when he was a freshman Senator in 1985 actually allowed himself to be manipulated as a "useful idiot" in a friendly meeting with communist leader Daniel Ortega. Kerry fought against American aid to El Salvador during the communist insurgency of the 1980s, and characterized Reagan's rescue of Grenada from communism as "a bully's show of force against a weak, third world nation." Kerry has a long history in the Senate of voting to cut defense programs.

His 30-year record as a politician shows that John Kerry hasn't learned anything since the mistakes of his years as a Vietnam radical. Other one-time Vietnam War protestors like myself who are no longer lost in a Purple Haze can acknowledge that we were not heroes for stopping the war. *The truth is, we were wrong.* America was not "the real enemy," then or now. Sober and clear-eyed at last, we would like to atone for 3 million innocent dead.

Unfortunately, John Kerry refuses to atone with us.

Real heroes don't campaign

By Mark Hemingway

Those familiar with life in the U.S. military know that the surest way to determine that someone isn't a war hero, is to have him tell you he's a war hero. Those who've lived through harrowing combat generally don't talk freely about it. Yet Congressman, and Senator, and now Presidential candidate Kerry has trotted out his alleged heroism over and over and over for campaign purposes. And he's surprised his military record has become politicized?

In 2002, veterans who served with Kerry told the *Boston Globe* that Kerry shot two hours of home movie footage in Vietnam, where in fits of narcissism he allegedly recreated battle scenes he participated in to make himself look heroic on film. While denying the charges, Kerry told the *New York Times* that "I have no intention of using" the footage for campaign purposes. Fast forward to the Democratic convention, where shortly before Kerry delivers his speech accepting the nomination, the DNC shows a movie narrated by Morgan Freeman that presents Kerry's self-filmed footage, showing him in slow motion, wearing his fatigues and carrying a gun, wandering through rice paddies. It also shows swift boats like the ones Kerry commanded, and edited-in new footage of bullets hitting the water—an addition the director describes as "illustrative."

By playing up his very brief military service Kerry may be getting more than he bargained for. The best judges of his military record are not other politicians, but fellow veterans, and many soldiers who served with him in Vietnam have concluded that he fought more like a politician than a soldier.

Ed Ryan is a veteran of the Marines 3rd Recon in Vietnam. When Kerry's war record became a campaign issue, he began looking into Kerry's military service records. Specifically, there was the issue of how Kerry could spend only four months in Vietnam and come away so highly decorated—three Purple Hearts, a Bronze Star and a Silver Star. "There were many Americans who served long and honorably in Vietnam without receiving *any* citations or awards," says Ryan.

Ryan didn't like what he found. Ryan offers his own terse assessment of the controversial circumstances of Kerry's awards that have repeatedly been hashed out in the media and among military experts. "It is significant to anyone who has served in the military that three Purple Hearts were awarded without a single day lost from duty. It is significant that John Kerry has virtually no physical scars to display to support the awards. It is significant that in the case of at least two of the awards both medical personnel and his own commanders questioned the appropriateness of an award being made." According to Ryan, the only real explanation is that Kerry "gamed the system," by actively pushing to get three Purple Hearts under specious circum-

Mark Hemingway is a Washington, D.C. writer.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

stances and then using that as an excuse to get out of Vietnam after only four months.

As for Kerry's Silver Star, the third highest combat honor given to American soldiers, "It is significant that his Silver Star citation was essentially written by himself, and confirmed only by people under his direct command. It is significant that in his citation he documents a Geneva Convention war crime. It is significant the citation has virtually no content which even remotely warrants the issuance of any citation for Heroism."

This seems like harsh criticism. Ryan himself resisted voicing his personal conclusions. "With veterans there's a pretty strong bond, and you don't generally go public and trash another veteran." Ryan is not a partisan, and has his own complaints about the Bush administration.

But the integrity of Kerry's war record is important to Ed Ryan for personal reasons. He was hit by an artillery shell in 1967 while under intense fire from the North Vietnamese. The shrapnel badly mangled his leg, chest, and liver, and left him gravely injured and out in the open. Then a private named Alan Chaves moved to an exposed position to provide covering fire for Ryan. He held his ground until Ed was drawn to safety. In the process, Chaves was killed and posthumously awarded a Purple Heart and a Silver Star.

"Either these symbols mean something or they don't," says Ryan. The fact that the man who saved Ryan's life earned the same medals that Kerry has renounced as well as bragged about, looms large in Ryan's mind. So does the fact that Ed's own Purple Heart injuries took years to heal, while Kerry collected three medals without spending a day in an infirmary.

Ryan has even more trouble accepting Kerry's post-war behavior. Ryan had a tough time recuperating from his extensive injuries, and eventually took up a career as a VA nurse and counselor because he wanted to give something back to his fellow veterans. After Kerry came home, he sought a spotlight as a war protester. He pretended (falsely, it later turned out) to toss away the same medals used to honor Alan Chaves. Kerry denounced U.S. soldiers for atrocities that later turned out to be fabricated. He used his national exposure as a springboard to run for Congress.

It is Kerry's long perpetuation of false stories about the nature of U.S. soldiers in Vietnam that Ryan particularly resents. He feels that Kerry exploited his status as a veteran to lend credence to radical claims that directly produced hatred of returning Vietnam vets. Ryan looks at the Kerry campaign's insistence on trumpeting four controversial months in Vietnam over a 20 year record in the U.S. Senate and sees a megalomaniacal ego. Given the questions that surround it, why would Kerry make his military record such a focal point of the campaign.

Claiming to be a war hero is a big step to a man like Ed Ryan. He believes that real heroism speaks for itself. It doesn't campaign.

BIRD'S EYE *continued from page 5*

America's distaste for elitism might once have translated into a distrust for conservatism. But today, with country-club Republicans having been swept aside by NASCAR Republicans, there is nothing undemocratic about American conservatism. It is now liberalism that is the dominant creed among elites.

Over the last generation, Harvard political scientist Samuel Huntington reports, professional elites have become both "less nationalistic" and "more liberal than the American public. This is revealed by 20 public opinion surveys from 1974 to 2000." One authoritative study of a dozen different elites, including top civil servants, lawyers, religious authorities, military officers, entertainment moguls, union leaders, non-profit managers, business executives, and media elites, found that every one of these groups but two (businesspeople and the military) was twice to three times as liberal as the public at large.

It's not as if the Democrats have taken over the top of the socio-economic ladder and the Republicans the bottom. Rather, the Democrats dominate at the very upper and lowest rungs, while Republicans find their following in the middle. When you slice by education rather than income, for example, you find that both high school dropouts and graduate students are heavily Democratic, while high school grads and those with bachelor's degrees (the educational middle) are predominantly Republican.

I was speaking not long ago with someone in the publishing industry about the new book imprints and clubs that have recently been founded by several major publishers to cater specifically to politically conservative readers (who have previously been neglected by booksellers). He told me that the New York publishers had been pleasantly surprised by the spending, loyalty, and depth of the conservative reading public. We at *TAE* could have told them that a long time ago, but they only became interested when the conservative middle proved to be too large and lucrative a mass market to ignore.

So we're in an interesting new era. The Right has become a thinking party, with rich intellectual resources, that is simultaneously dead-set against political elitism and cultural snobbery. In many past issues of *The American Enterprise* we've described how conservatism has laid claim to America's quiet but multitudinous middle class. Now in this issue we look at the other side of the political spectrum: at how the Left has come to dominate among the overclass and underclass that bracket the conservative middle.

The old way of thinking about U.S. politics—little-guy Democrats vs. wealthy Republicans—is about as accurate and relevant today as a 1930 weather forecast. New fronts have moved in. Expect some exciting squalls ahead.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Divided America?

Don't mind the gap

By Ralph Reed

GettyImages

As the nation enters the home stretch of the 2004 Presidential election, the campaign appears to be headed for a photo finish. The press and pundits tell us that the nation is divided into "blue" states and "red" states, churchgoers and secular voters, rural and urban, culturally conservative gun-owners and chablis-sipping cosmopolitans.

Compared to the politics of the pre-Civil War period, the New Deal, or the Vietnam era, today's politics pale by comparison. So why do we seem so divided? And why are we bracing for such a close election?

The reasons are complex. First, the two major political parties have not been at such parity in 120 years. Over the past decade we have witnessed what no one alive today had ever seen before: three Presidential elections in a row (1992, 1996, 2000) in which neither party's nominee won more than 50 percent of the vote. The same parity is found in Congressional contests. In 1996, 1998, and 2000, the margin between the two parties in the total national vote was 1 percent or less. The last time the parties were so close to a tie was when Grover Cleveland won the Presidency in 1884, lost it narrowly in 1888, and then won it again in 1892. It was a rare interruption of Republican dominance that stretched from the Civil War until Teddy Roosevelt bolted from the party in 1912 to lead the Progressive Party, thereby contributing to the election of Woodrow Wilson.

In this sense, American politics today resembles a civic version of the National Football League—fundraising equality and aggressive candidate recruitment efforts mimic free agency and salary caps that keep the teams evenly matched. Just as the Super Bowl, once a blow-out, is now more often decided by a last-minute field goal, national politics has gone from Reagan-era landslides to heart-stopping finishes.

Reinforcing this trend is the fact that the political parties have come to reflect fairly accurately the ideological cleavages within the electorate. George W. Bush and Dick Cheney represent a conservative governing philosophy. John Kerry and John Edwards are their polar opposites. This fact is reflected in the ratings of the Americans for Democratic Action, founded in 1947 by disenchanted New Deal Democrats, which are considered the gold standard in the liberal bona fides of elected officials. John Kerry's lifetime ADA score is 92, compared to 90 for Walter Mondale; John Edwards' lifetime ADA rating is 81, compared to 79 for Geraldine Ferraro, the Vice Presidential nominee in 1984.

In his 1956 acceptance speech at the Democratic national convention, Adlai Stevenson said to Southerners at the height of massive resistance: "Of course there is disagreement in the Democratic Party on desegregation. It could not be otherwise in the only party that must speak responsibly and responsively in both the North and the South." Stevenson boasted that the fact that neither side was satisfied with the party platform on the "explosive subject" of race relations was proof that Democrats had "contributed to our national unity as only a national Party can." It is hard to imagine a party embracing so broad a philosophical divide today. Pro-lifers of both parties have gradually drifted to the Republicans, environmentalists and personal injury trial lawyers to the Democrats.

The transformation of American parties into analogues of their ideologically driven European counterparts has the effect of mobilizing voters by philosophical affinity rather than partisan affiliation. It thus exaggerates differences where political parties of the nineteenth century tended to mute or obscure them.

The triumph of ideology has caused regional permutations in

Ralph Reed is president of Century Strategies, a public affairs firm in Atlanta, and chairman of Bush-Cheney '04 for the Southeast region.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

party support that create the impression of the existence of two nations within a nation, one blue, the other red. The party that nominated Adlai Stevenson 48 years ago exists in name only. In 2000, the Democrats carried not a single state in the South, even with a Tennessean at the top of the ticket. And with the obvious exception of Florida, the Kerry-Edwards ticket is not competitive in most of the South. If Kerry fails to carry a single state in the region, Bush will win the South with 14 states and a total of 173 electoral votes. The result will be that Kerry would have to win 74 percent of all the remaining electoral votes to be elected President. The Democratic Party, in Senator Zell Miller's phrase, is a "national party no more."

Another factor in the current polarization is the splintering of the media universe, which has created a fractured civic discourse. In 1980, 90 percent of all the television sets turned on in prime-time hours were tuned to the three major broadcast networks of CBS, NBC, and ABC. Today that figure is 50 percent and falling. The rise of cable television, talk radio, and the Internet has created two parallel media universes where conservatives and liberals seek their news and reinforce their beliefs. These media echo chambers energize their participants but also tend to exaggerate differences. Conservatives gravitate to FOX News and favorite Internet sites like Drudge or NationalReview.com. Liberals flock to the *New York Times*, CNN, and MoveOn.org.

We are no longer a nation that reads the same newspapers and watches the same evening news broadcast. Lyndon Johnson famously said during the Vietnam War, "If we've lost Walter Cronkite, we've lost the country." It is doubtful that a President of either party would say the same about a network news anchor today. According to Voter News Service exit poll data, in 2000 an estimated 30 percent of all voters got the bulk of their information about the candidates from the Internet. There is much that is positive about this development—the ability to bypass opinion gatekeepers, a return to grass roots politics, and a renewed emphasis on face-to-face campaigning, whether signified by the Dean "meet-ups" or the Bush campaign's "Parties for the President." But the downside is that most of the information we receive is narrow-cast rather than broadcast, and we rarely gather as a single people around the television set to view the same show, whether "I Love Lucy" or the national conventions. Politics has gone cable.

While these phenomena—party parity, the triumph of ideology, and a disaggregated media universe—may be new to us, they are as old as the republic itself. Thomas Jefferson endured a vicious, partisan press, and Lincoln saw his Whig party splinter into anti-slavery Republicans and popular sovereignty Democrats.

It is much too easy to overstate the current polarity. The United States is not Bosnia. Indeed, there is much evidence to suggest that, on the large and consequential issues, the American people have arrived at something roughly resembling consensus. In both public opinion surveys and election results, Americans generally express themselves in favor of lower taxes, welfare reform, a strong military, an aggressive posture in the war against terrorism, the right to own a gun, and preserving marriage as an institution between a man and a woman.

This consensus is reflected on Capitol Hill. It is easy in the heat of the political season (and John Kerry's equivocation on Iraq) to forget how remarkably bipartisan the support for the military action in Iraq was at the time. The resolution authorizing the President to go into Iraq passed 77-23 in the U.S. Senate and 296-133 in the House. These are margins large enough to pass an amendment to the Constitution. It was supported by then-House Minority leader Dick Gephardt, Senator Hillary Clinton, and every leading Democratic Presidential aspirant, including 2000 Vice Presidential nominee Senator Joe Lieberman.

The same bipartisan spirit prevailed in the passage of President Bush's No Child Left Behind education initiative, which passed the Senate led by its chief cosponsor Ted Kennedy, with only ten dissenting votes. Even George W. Bush's first round of tax cuts passed with the support of 12 Democrats in the Senate and 28 Democrats in the House.

President Bush is in a strong position by historic standards in spite of the apparent polarity. In an August Gallup poll, 51 percent of the voters approved of the job President Bush was doing, only one percentage point off Clinton's 52 percent job approval in the summer of 1996. No incumbent President with a job approval of 50 percent or higher has failed to be re-elected in the modern era. And in a close election, Bush's 89 percent job approval among Republicans—higher than Reagan's 85 percent in 1984—bodes well for turning out his strongest supporters to the polls.

Some compare President George W. Bush with his father in 1992. They point to a war in the Persian Gulf, an economy recovering from recession, and an incumbent President with approval below 50 percent in many polls. But the comparison breaks down in many crucial respects. George H. W. Bush's job approval rating in 1992 fell to as low as 37 percent and never rose above 50 percent during the entire campaign. Bush 41 also faced a primary challenge from the Right in the form of Pat Buchanan, forcing the incumbent to spend time and resources healing an intra-party rift. Like Nixon, Reagan, and Clinton, Bush 43 has a united party and no primary challenge. Finally, the presence of Ross Perot might very well have robbed Bush 41 of victory, since Perot pulled votes from Bush's natural base.

While there is much about the polarizing politics of our time that is nasty and disconcerting, there is also much that is encouraging. For 2004 will be a big election about the big issues: how to win the war on terror, how to create jobs and economic security in a competitive and global economy, and how to strengthen families and communities in a time of dramatic social change. In a sturdy democracy, a vibrant and hard-fought campaign about important issues is never unhealthy and may make us stronger as a nation, even if we do occasionally raise our voices.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

1979-2004 in America:

From Malaise to Mastery

By Michael Barone

Twenty-five years ago, on July 15, 1979, a mere ten years after America put a man on the moon, President Jimmy Carter addressed the nation. Carter spoke to his television audience of "a fundamental threat to American democracy." A threat, he said, that is "a crisis of confidence. It is a crisis that strikes at the very heart and soul and spirit of our national will. We can see this crisis in the growing doubt about the meaning of our own lives and in the loss of a unity of purpose for our Nation. The erosion of our confidence in the future is threatening to destroy the social and the political fabric of America. Our people are losing...faith, not only in government itself, but in the ability as citizens to serve as the ultimate rulers and shapers of our democracy....What you see too often in Washington and elsewhere around the country is a system of government that seems incapable of action."

Instantly known as the "malaise" speech, though the word appears nowhere in it, it was intended as a call to national action. It fizzled. Carter's six specific proposals, for oil import quotas, alternative fuels research, and the like, went mostly un-enacted. But as a diagnosis of the national mood, it was not bad. Rereading the malaise speech reminds us of what America was like 25 years ago—and how different it is today.

"A system of government that seems incapable of action" was the consensus view 25 years ago. Underlying that consensus was the assumption that government was central to the workings of the economy and that government could only be led effectively by the President. Most commentators could not see how the economy of the late 1970s could be revived. In 1979, the American economy was in desperate trouble. The following year unemployment would be above 7 percent, inflation over 13 percent, and the gross domestic product *down* 0.5 percent. Keynesian economists could see no cure: You could only slash inflation by raising unemployment to intolerable levels, and you could only cut unemployment by allowing runaway inflation. Low-inflation economic growth was no longer possible. Productivity growth was low in the 1970s, well behind that of Japan and Germany, and any economic growth seemed to be limited as far as the eye could see. The specific proposals in Carter's speech called for more privation: Limits on energy use and renunciation of oil imports meant a lower standard of living. The implication was that the American people should be grown up enough to accept that and live with it.

In other respects American life seemed to be deteriorating. Crime rates and welfare dependency tripled between 1965 and 1975, and continued to rise, though more slowly, after that. Divorce and cohabitation became common and acceptable in the 1970s. As pollster Daniel Yankelovich explained in his 1981 book *New Rules*, the values of the counterculture of the late '60s had been adopted by the great mass of the American people. There would, presumably, be no going back to the America of the '50s.

In 1979 America also seemed in retreat in the world as a

Michael Barone, a senior writer for U.S. News & World Report, *is co-author of* The Almanac of American Politics. *His most recent book is* Hard America, Soft America.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

whole. The Soviet Union, with its vast army and its huge arsenal of nuclear weapons and missiles, seemed to be gaining on the United States; arms control agreements, the central focus of Soviet policy in the Nixon, Ford, and Carter administrations, seemed unable to stop this. Soviet- and Cuban-sponsored guerrilla movements operated successfully in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Angola, and Mozambique. In December 1979, Soviet troops flooded into Afghanistan and installed a puppet government.

A month before, "students" had seized the U.S. Embassy in Tehran and, with the support of Ayatollah Khomeini and his mullah regime, held Americans as hostages—an act of war against the United States. In response, the Carter administration negotiated and sought permission to send Christmas presents to the hostages; across the country Americans tied yellow ribbons around trees, to show that they wanted the hostages to come home. Earlier in the decade, Richard Nixon had declared that the United States should not be "a pitiful, helpless giant." By the end of the '70s it looked like it was.

On the economic front, the success of Japanese and German cars and Japanese electronics in the U.S. market convinced many that American manufacturing was in terminal decline. Some drew the conclusion that those countries, with their large welfare states, were so well organized that the United States could not compete.

Projections of the future generally follow straight-line trajectories. Economic forecasters tend to assume that next year will look pretty much like this year; foreign policy and military analysts tend to assume that developments will continue in the same direction that they are already proceeding; social critics tend to assume that trends will continue at about the same rate they have. In 1979, the majority of Americans thought things were going badly and could only get worse. As Carter noted, Americans had seemed to lose their historic optimism.

Yet we know from history that lines on graphs don't continue in the same direction forever. Sometimes they change direction. And that is what happened to the malaise-afflicted America of 1979 over the next 25 years. What turned things around? What forces were already operating in the America of 1979 that would produce decades of low-inflation economic growth, victory in the Cold War, and solutions to problems like crime and welfare dependency?

Part of the answer is Ronald Reagan. In 1979, Reagan was a 68-year-old former actor and California governor who was launching his third Presidential campaign. He had been defeated by Richard Nixon in the 1968 Republican National Convention and had lost to Gerald Ford in the 1976 Republican Presidential primaries. Now he was challenging his third President. By any standard rules, he was too old to run. Only three men had ever held the office of President at his age: William Henry Harrison, who died after a month in office; Harry Truman, who retired at 68; and Dwight Eisenhower, who reached 68 in the second year of his second term and retired at 70.

Candidate Reagan, moreover, espoused policies which all Democratic and most Republican elites considered unworkable and dangerously outside the mainstream. He called for lower taxes at a time when the federal government was running deficits and inflation was raging, and he called for a military buildup and a confrontational policy toward Soviet expansionism when the only safety seemed to lie in accommodation. None of the other serious candidates for President that year—Carter, Edward Kennedy, George H. W. Bush, Howard Baker, John Connally—stood for what Reagan did.

In 1979, Americans thought things were going badly and could only get worse.

But as we now know, Reagan's policies would work. At some cost, to be sure: His support of Federal Reserve Chairman Paul Volcker's tight money policy raised unemployment to above 10 percent, and his defense buildup led to record budget deficits. But those turned out to be not as unbearable as the elites assumed. By the mid 1980s the nation was back to low-inflation economic growth, and by the late '90s the budget deficits had vanished. And his foreign policy proved spectacularly successful. In 1989, the year he left office, the Berlin Wall came down and the Soviet empire in Eastern Europe vanished; in 1991 the Soviet Union ceased to exist.

But Reagan does not deserve sole credit for reversing the negative trends that seemed inexorable in 1979. Presidents, contrary to elite analysis in 1979, are not the only ones who shape the nation. The example of Franklin Roosevelt, who seemed to reverse the downward economic spiral of the Depression and to win World War II single-handedly was misleading. Individual economic actors and masses of soldiers and civilian workers played critical parts in the successes of the 1930s and 1940s. And even in 1979 America had hidden strengths which would become apparent as the years went on.

One of those strengths was a law already on the books, the tax bill passed by the Democratic Congress and signed by Jimmy Carter in 1978. It cut capital gains taxes to 25 percent—at a time when the top rate on investment income was 70 percent—and included section 401(k), allowing employers to set up tax-deferred investment accounts for employees. The capital gains cut, according to standard scoring practices, was supposed to cost the government revenue and to have no effect on the behavior of individuals. Of course the opposite was true. The capital gains cut stimulated investment and innovation, and brought the government far more revenue than expected. And section 401(k), with the help of favorable regulations issued by the Reagan IRS, meant that the number of people covered by such defined contribution pension plans rose from 19 million in 1980 to 50 million in 1998. It helped to create a mass investor class, which amounted to a majority of voters by 2000.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Another law expanding the economy was the deregulation of airlines initiated by the Ford administration and passed under Carter (with significant support from Senator Edward Kennedy). This provided the template for the deregulation of transportation and communications, which squeezed huge costs out of the economy in the 1980s and 1990s.

Individual Americans also changed the private sector vastly. In 1979 few Americans had heard of Sam Walton, Fred Smith, or Bill Gates. But the companies they founded—Wal-Mart, Federal Express, Microsoft—produced innovations that made the American economy immensely more efficient and productive. None of these companies, by the way, got its start from government aid or through the stock market; they were financed instead by personal savings and family money. Absent these people, America would be substantially less efficient and productive today.

Indeed, in 1979 financial markets were thin and stock prices were below 1965 levels. But in the 1980s, new techniques were developed—hostile takeovers, leveraged buyouts, junk bond financing—which elicited far better performance from corporate management and provided far more capital for innovation. Many journalists portrayed creative financiers as heartless predators, but in fact they created huge amounts of value which contrast vividly with the unproductivity of the complacent corporate managers of the '70s. The private sector was also stimulated to better performance by competition from foreign firms (notably the Japanese car makers) after it became clear that trade barriers could not protect them from competition.

In the America of 1979 were also gestating the ideas that would propel public policy changes that vastly improved life, especially in the inner cities. Charles Murray was developing the critique of the welfare system that he presented in *Losing Ground* in 1984, and George Kelling and James Q. Wilson were already working on the critique of police practices presented in their article "Broken Windows" in 1982. These ideas helped to develop the welfare reforms pioneered by Wisconsin's Governor Tommy Thompson in 1987 and the crime fighting measures introduced by New York's Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in 1993. Those policies, widely imitated across the country, resulted in the reduction by more than half of welfare dependency and crime in the 1990s—a happy result that no one had predicted in 1990, much less in 1979. In 1979, military officers and intellectuals were also developing the ideas that vastly improved military performance in the 1990s.

Almost no one in 1979 predicted the momentous changes of the 1990s. (Notable exceptions: Both Ronald Reagan and Daniel Patrick Moynihan predicted the collapse of the Soviet Union.) Why did so few people foresee that the straight lines would change direction? Why did no one foresee that the fog of malaise would be lifted from the land?

As one who remembers the year 1979 vividly, let me tentatively advance an answer. It starts with this: The elites of 1979 believed that government and the private sector could only work the way they had over the preceding 35 years. To put it another way, they thought this was forever Franklin Roosevelt's America. In this view, government must and should be periodically expanded to help people in need, and government action is necessary to produce prosperity. This was Big Unit America—Big Government, working with and settling disputes between Big Business and Big Labor, could produce low-inflation economic growth forever.

History, it turns out, does not, and should not, always move left.

But in the 1970s, Big Government failed, spectacularly, to do this, while Big Business remained stodgy and non-innovative, and Big Labor was shrinking toward irrelevance. The Big Units had helped America recover from the Depression, win World War II, and produce an unexpected postwar prosperity. But by 1979 they were visibly failing. The elites of the time were reduced to plaintive pleas to Americans to accept their lot: We live in an era of limits, people should be satisfied with high-inflation stagnation, our institutions can only be improved by Constitutional change, which everyone knows is impossible. As the Communist playwright Bertolt Brecht said after East Germans rioted against the Communist regime: "The government should invent a new people."

Instead, the people—with a big boost from the Gipper—invented a new America. History, it turns out, does not, and should not, always move left. Lower taxes and reduced government regulation could liberate people to create a new, far more productive economy. Technological innovation could come more rapidly from the private sector than from government grants. Government may have produced the atomic bomb during World War II, but by the 1990s the Pentagon was developing precision weapons by taking old bombs and attaching GPS devices purchased at Radio Shack.

Innovative public policies which improve people's lives are usually not generated at the center but the periphery, not by federal government and university elites, but by local governors and mayors picking up ideas generated by free-market and conservative think tanks.

The elites who were bemoaning malaise in 1979 did not understand that America had these resources. They overvalued central direction and undervalued decentralized innovation. They did not realize that Big Unit America was no longer working and that Tocquevillian America—decentralized, democratic, religious, and profit-seeking—could produce even better results than Big Unit America at its best. Government in 1979 may have been, as Jimmy Carter said, incapable of action. But Americans were capable of action, and acted.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A Short, Unhappy History of Campaign Finance Reform

By John R. Lott, Jr.

Notice that you no longer hear what was, until recently, an incessant rhetorical drumbeat—the campaign finance reformers' lament about there being "too much money in politics." What happened? Liberals discovered that they could raise lots of money. They rejoiced when Howard Dean so effectively mined the Internet for contributions that he opted out of public financing and its spending limits, causing John Kerry to follow suit. So liberals have adjusted their rhetoric, and their principles, such as they ever were.

—George Will, August 2004

To its supporters, our most recent round of campaign finance reform legislation, the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act (McCain-Feingold, in shorthand), merely fills in the loopholes in the campaign finance laws passed during the 1970s. Yet, like other government attempts at central planning, the law is incredibly complicated and produces unwelcome results unimagined by its supporters. To analyze these new regulations, a special three-judge district court panel felt it necessary to issue an unheard-of 1,600-page opinion. A sharply divided Supreme Court weighed in early this year with a mere 298 pages, and still left many complex issues unresolved.

The new law seems to cover just about everything. It restricts how much political parties can give to candidates and what individuals can give to parties. Contributions by minors are banned. Upper limits on individual contributions are raised, but they are now adjusted by a formula that penalizes wealthy candidates for spending their own money. The law even controls the timing of ads from independent groups for candidates for federal office.

As before, supporters predicted these rules would reduce the role of money in politics, make elections more competitive, reduce corruption, and encourage more people to vote. But, as with every previous round of regulations, things have become worse.

Take the issue of donation limits: Prior to 1976, when such limits were first introduced, House members lost 12 percent of their races (according to data since World War II). After 1976, it was just 6 percent. Senators moved from a 24 percent loss rate to 19 percent. My own research on donation limits on primary and general election races for state senators—with data covering 1984 through the 2002 primaries—analyzed the impact of state regulations similar to those in McCain-Feingold. These regulations increased the incumbents' winning vote margin by at least 4 percentage points, and the number of state senate candidates running for office fell by an average of about 20 percent.

Why did this happen? First of all, incumbents have built-in advantages, such as better name recognition and the use of government resources to help them campaign and generate news coverage. Incumbents are also at an advantage in the difficult task of building a large number of small donations, having had years in office to put together long mailing lists and make contacts. As the law stands, the long head start required for fundraising means that, if a candidate falters late in the race, it is virtually impossible for other candidates to enter at the last minute and remain competitive.

Current rules limiting the support that parties can offer to candidates provide the greatest incumbent protection, as new, relatively unknown candidates rely on party support more heavily than well-known incumbents. While both incumbents and challengers received help from their parties, challengers were between 77 and 307 percent more dependent on party help than were incumbents for the U.S. House and Senate races from 1984 to 2000. Indeed, in the nine elections surveyed during this period, there is only one case (the Democratic Senate races in 2000) in which the incumbents received more help from the party than did the challengers.

The 1974 reforms did nothing to stop the growth in campaign spending, either, and McCain-Feingold has been no more successful. Regulations may change how the money is spent, such as

John Lott is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

moving it from candidates to political parties or independent advocacy groups, but the total amount spent is linked inextricably to what is at stake: As the size of the government grows and the importance of winning office increases, so does spending.

With spending regulations, the possible loopholes are endless, but a few stand out. Suppose independent groups were completely banned from spending or donating money in support of political candidates. Would that stop money from being spent on elections? Obviously not. Wealthy individuals or organizations find alternatives to political contributions, such as buying radio or television stations or newspapers. Unless the First Amendment is completely gutted, there is no way to regulate the number of favorable news stories given to a particular candidate.

Indeed, the National Rifle Association's recent announcement of its intention to establish its own radio news program, which would qualify as a news organization, caused a ruckus. If the NRA—or indeed any independent advocacy group—were recognized as a media organization, it could say whatever it wanted about political candidates, unconstrained by campaign-finance laws regarding the timing or content of their message. Only a week after the NRA announcement, Senator John Kerry demanded that the Federal Election Commission block any attempt by the NRA to get a media exemption: "We urge you to prevent the NRA from hijacking America's airwaves with the gun lobby's money."

Yet, do we really want the government in the business of determining what is and isn't a news organization? What distinguishes the NRA from *Time*, FOX News, or CNN? Surely it's not the NRA's nonprofit status; churches own radio and television stations and publish newspapers. Perhaps the NRA is different because its political opinions are well-known. But don't the *New York Times* and *Washington Post* also have well-known stances on gun control? And newspapers can run editorials or news stories supporting candidates any day they like, up to and beyond the 60-day period before the general election, a time period forbidden to non-media groups.

Last year, Hillary Clinton showed the way on a second gaping loophole in spending regulations with the release of her memoirs, *Living History*. Should her publisher Simon & Schuster's promotional budget for her book, likely more than a million dollars, be counted as a campaign donation? Surely those expenditures were as valuable as any campaign funds in helping her maintain and create a national reputation she can later use in a Presidential run. Even Republicans, such as Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert, have gone on extensive book tours before the election. These and other dodges are presently enjoying wide usage across the political spectrum. [*See Benjamin Ginsberg's piece below for examples.*]

How McCain-Feingold Downsized American Politics

By Benjamin Ginsberg

In December 2000, in a 5-4 decision, the U.S. Supreme Court effectively awarded Florida's electoral votes, and thus the Presidency, to George W. Bush. Democrats responded by attacking the legitimacy of judicial interference in the political process. Yet three years later, they vigorously applauded another 5-4 Supreme Court ruling, *McConnell v. Federal Election Commission*, whose long-term impact is likely to be even greater than *Bush v. Gore*. In *McConnell*, the court upheld the 2002 Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act, also known as McCain-Feingold, which may not only effectively undo the court's ruling in *Bush*, but may also reduce the competitiveness of American elections, undermine political parties, and unbalance the American political arena—all thanks to a little thing called the "527 committee."

Any stroll through this newest campaign finance loophole—the "527 committee"—must begin in the origins of McCain-Feingold itself. The act was intended to deal with, as its supporters put it, the growing threat of special interest corruption of the political process. Its main provisions prohibit political parties from raising so-called "soft money," as distinguished from the "hard money" contributions to individual federal candidates regulated by the Federal Elections Campaign Act, passed in 1971 and amended throughout the '70s. The parties had used some of their soft money for voter registration and organizational efforts, but spent most of it—hundreds of millions of dollars in the 2000 election cycle—to support their Presidential, Senate, and House candidates. Reformers argued that soft money contributions allowed wealthy individuals and powerful corporations to buy political influence, and that McCain-Feingold would restore political power to ordinary Americans.

A secondary provision of McCain-Feingold places limits on issue advertising. The Supreme Court had previously ruled that the government could not impose financial restrictions on the efforts of individuals or groups to express their political views during a campaign, so long as these efforts were not coordinated with those of a candidate. Such independent spending often took the form of negative "issue ads," run during the several days before an election. McCain-Feingold's sponsors argued that these issue ads had become important vehicles through which monied special interests were able to exert undue leverage on the political process. So they inserted the provisions prohibiting independent ads naming a federal candidate from being aired within 30 days of a primary election and 60 days of a general election.

There are many intricate schemes for evading the rules. The most significant of late has been the 527 committee, named for the section of the Internal Revenue code that grants tax-exempt status to groups organized for the purpose of voter mobilization and issue advocacy. So long as these groups are nominally independent of the political parties and candidates, they may receive and spend unlimited funds. The 527 group has, in effect, replaced

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In *Buckley v. Valeo* (1976), the Supreme Court held that the only permissible Constitutional basis for government regulation of campaign finance was the appearance or incidence of campaign corruption. Yet the only evidence offered in this and subsequent court cases is anecdotal. Public interest groups and the press insist that campaign donors supposedly only give money to politicians to bribe them. There is, to be sure, little doubt that the political preferences of campaign donors and the voting records of politicians often line up quite neatly. But few offer the alternative, less dastardly explanation of this fact: Campaign donors share the candidate's long-established views.

Fortunately, a look at the evidence can tell us which is most common. Consider a retiring politician: He has little reason to honor any "bribes." Generating campaign funds to support a re-election bid is no longer an issue. Even if such a politician had been corrupted by donations in earlier campaigns, he would now have the freedom to vote according to his own preferences. Therefore, if contributions indeed bribe politicians to vote against their beliefs, we ought to see a change in voting records of politicians who have decided not to run for re-election.

But that's not what the facts show. Together with Steve Bronars of the University of Texas, I examined the voting records of the 731 Congressmen who held office for at least two terms from 1975 to 1990. We found that retiring Congressmen continued to vote just as they had in the past, even when focusing only on their voting records *after* their retirement announcement. On average, they altered their votes during their last term in only one out of every 450 votes—precisely the opposite of what the "vote bribery" theory of campaign donations would predict. The voting records also reveal that politicians are extremely consistent throughout their careers. Those who are the most conservative or liberal during their first terms are still ranked that way when they leave office. Of course, this shouldn't come as a surprise: A reputation for sticking to certain values is an important attribute for politicians to cultivate, which is why political ads often attack policy "flip-flops" by the opponent.

Every round of federal and state campaign finance regulation has been preceded by high-minded rhetoric decrying corruption of the political process. Every round of regulation has succeeded only in protecting incumbents from competition and divorcing voters further from the political process.

Why should we have expected the current round of regulations, McCain-Feingold, to turn out any different?

the political party as the recipient and dispenser of the soft money that McCain-Feingold was supposed to eliminate.

The advent of 527 committees has brought about a curious reversal of field in the camp of advocates for campaign finance reform. Many liberal Democrats who once railed against big money influence in politics—including John Kerry—have become vehement defenders of the 527 committee. When the GOP brought a complaint about 527 soft money fundraising to the Federal Election Commission, these Democrats called efforts to restrict 527 groups a Republican conspiracy to chill free speech. Ultimately, Democratic members of the Federal Election Commission blocked 527 restrictions proposed by Republican commissioners.

The reason for this turnabout is clear: 527 status seems tailor-made for the well-financed advocacy groups that are the Democratic Party's chief sources of funding. Many of the most active 527 committees were formed with donations from rich liberal activists specifically to defeat President Bush. Billionaire financier George Soros, for example, has given $15 million to the anti-Bush MoveOn.org, which does everything from Democratic fundraising to advertising, and has funded the left-wing Americans Coming Together to the tune of $5 million. On the other hand, the corporations that form the backbone of Republican Party financial strength have been reluctant to get involved with the endeavor because of the risk that, as for-profit entities, they will violate one or more provisions of the complex tax laws that govern not-for-profit 527 status. (Right-wing 527s do exist, though: Billionaire businessman John Templeton gave $1 million to Let Freedom Ring, a group that plans to mobilize the religious conservative vote. And of course there are the anti-Kerry ads of the swift boat veterans.) Democratic 527s have helped Senator Kerry raise more money than President Bush thus far in 2004, and they're likely to play a role in Senate and House races as well.

Worse news than the 527 committee loophole itself is the danger that McCain-Feingold's failures will cause reform supporters to push further, for full public financing of political campaigns, as exists today in many European countries. The European experience has shown that taking the money out of politics can also mean taking the politics out of politics. Assured of government funding, some European political parties have stopped paying much attention to the interests and needs of their constituents. They have, in effect, followed the same path as state-funded European churches, which, not having to compete for parishioners' financial support, stopped competing for members at all and are now hosts to empty pews. More than 527 committees, this is the ultimate threat posed by McCain-Feingold: that it will be seen not as a bridge too far, but as conclusive proof of the need for even more stringent regulation of the political process.

Benjamin Ginsberg is director of the Center for the Study of American Government at Johns Hopkins University and co-author of Downsizing Democracy: How America Sidelined Its Citizens and Privatized Its Public.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Republicans Can Save Education—and Win Votes

By Matthew Clavel

Newscom.com/Agence France Presse

Since volunteering for Bill Clinton's first Presidential campaign as a high school senior, I have wavered back and forth between competing political ideologies. Over the last five years, though, there has been one issue that has swung me safely toward the Grand Old Party for the foreseeable future—the woeful state of our schools.

When I began teaching in 1998 in the South Bronx as a Teach For America corps member, I was placed in a large public elementary school. This school certainly had the potential to deliver a decent education to its young charges; we had plenty of money, supplies, and more than enough well-paid teachers. As I quickly found out, though, we were located in District 9—one of New York City's most notorious districts for corruption and political patronage. Bureaucrats at the city and district levels seemed intent on making us teach inane curricula that were not giving students the basic math and English skills they so desperately needed. The school itself, disorganized and chaotic, did not show the sense of urgency needed to work with a population of inner-city kids.

Over the last few years, I have spoken to centrists, Democrats, even a former Naderite, whose only common agreement seems to be that they consider themselves "conservative" on education. Many of them are parents who are simply fed up with popular fads like whole language and fuzzy math. Others prefer Republican ideas that focus on market approaches to education reform, like school vouchers and charter schools. Many Americans, disgusted by what they read of corruption among education bureaucrats and teachers unions, are convinced that the Democratic Party does not have the will to shake up a structure that supports it.

Two obstacles hold the Republicans back from achieving dominance on education. One is the traditional American suspicion of a powerful federal government. Practically since the birth of the United States, local communities have fiercely guarded their schools and fought attempts to transfer educational decision making to the national level. For conservative enclaves of the West and South that back school prayer and repudiate sex education, this local independence is considered crucial.

The other main problem has to do with financing: The Democratic Party has proved masterful at shaming state legislatures into lavishing more and more money on schools with virtually no accountability. In order not to be labeled stingy, Republicans often assume the defensive posture and join in the spending game.

The irony is that for decades, liberal ideology has destroyed the learning environments of our public schools. Whole language, whereby children were expected to learn to read by teaching themselves, has largely been discredited. But, thanks to whole language, millions of schoolchildren in the 1990s never learned to read adequately. Republicans should be banging the drum about issues like this one. And the GOP should follow President Bush's lead by pushing for an overhaul of the research methods that produce so many of our schools' disastrous classroom policies.

It is impossible to view these theories outside of their political bent. Left-wing pedagogical theorists, who have been so influential since the Sixties, take a relativist view to all sorts of school rules: If a student regularly disturbs class by talking out of turn, he's just exhibiting a cultural trait that is no worse than anything

Matthew Clavel taught in schools in Harlem and the Bronx, and is finishing a degree in public administration.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

else—just *different*. Consider the attempt to encourage speaking Ebonics in schools in Oakland, California. This well-known instance is but the tip of an iceberg that eschews realistic modes of learning for a dangerous "anything goes" political agenda.

Educational theorists have long shown a disdain for the will of parents. Sexual orientation workshops are notorious because they are so often held without parental consent. Many parents would be horrified to learn about the content of their children's sex-ed classes or the political agenda of many social studies curricula. I only became conservative when I realized that schools are often run in the name of extreme-left ideologies.

Introducing market forces into our school systems may be the last best hope for many public schools, and the only party that can be trusted to encourage such a market is the GOP. Charter schools (public schools with independent budgets, hiring, and curricula) provide an excellent way to loosen the educational establishment's grip on local schools. It is no surprise that so many teachers unions and Democrats oppose charter schools.

School vouchers, an idea that is even more dangerous to the education establishment, have been maligned for years by teachers unions and Democratic politicians. Claiming that vouchers would "drain money" from poor schools (even though a voucher is often worth far less than the per-pupil expenditure at a regular public school) and lobbing scores of other alarmist charges at the pro-school-choice movement, Democrats have sought to frighten voters into opposing the idea.

Democrats' real fear, of course, lies in the inevitable weakening of unions that will result from competition. Catholic and other religious schools are often far better at educating inner-city kids than public schools, and if these success stories became common knowledge, school districts would no longer be inclined to cave in to the wishes of teachers union if they could count on private school seats. Vouchers are an escape hatch from broken systems, and are wildly popular among inner-city blacks and Hispanics.

Education spending has soared since the 1960s. At the same time, academic performance of American students has, infamously, dropped. Inner-city schools, often awash with extra money for special programs, are the worst, and show no signs of being allowed to improve with traditional teaching methods and effective management. Democrats seem to have no ideas for education except to clamor for ever more funding.

Isn't the Democratic Party interested in improving our schools? Of course it is—but it is also inextricably tied to the two major teachers unions, the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) and the National Education Association (NEA). Teachers unions exert tremendous power at both the national and state level. What many in the mainstream media do not understand is that teachers unions are not there to fight for kids—their role is to protect the rights of adult employees. The AFT and NEA are granted far too much respect in the press, and Democrats who rely on their strong support during campaigns fail to toe the union line at their peril.

A strong Republican education platform should include: strong support for curricula that follow statistical research, not baseless "findings"; a real effort to uncover the corruption and waste of many urban school systems; no fear of taking on teachers unions; promotion of market reforms; and closing failing schools when they don't improve.

To take this debate to a national level, Republicans will need to go a step further by ceding some local educational authority, even though this would be a bitter pill for many small-town conservatives. President Bush has already moved the party in this direction by strengthening national standards through his No Child Left Behind Act.

If Republicans complete such a transition, it should be clear whose policy proposals are the most likely to succeed and whose are based on fads and politics.

Grant Program Spring 2005 Competitions

The United States Institute of Peace is accepting applications for its Spring **Unsolicited** and **Solicited** Grant competitions. The Grant Program offers financial support for research, education, training, and the dissemination of information in the fields of international peace and conflict resolution. ◆ The Unsolicited Grant competition is open to any project that falls within the Institute's general mandate of international conflict resolution. ◆ The Solicited Grant competition is only open to projects that fall within the themes and topics identified in advance by the Institute. The topics for the Spring 2005 competition are:

Solicitation A
Promoting Sustainable Peace in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict

Solicitation B
Conflict and Peacemaking in the Muslim World

The Institute encourages applications from nonprofit organizations and official public institutions. Individuals may also apply. For further information and application materials, please call, write, or e-mail:

Grant Program
United States Institute of Peace
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-3011
(202) 429-3842 ◆ Fax (202) 429-6063
TTY (202) 457-1719
e-mail: grants@usip.org

The closing date for *receipt* of Spring 2005 Unsolicited and Solicited Grant applications is March 1, 2005. Award announcements will be made by September 30, 2005.

Application materials may also be downloaded from our website: www.usip.org/grants

United States Institute of Peace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Transcript

Words worth repeating

Urban Legends About the Iraq War

Excerpts from an August 12, 2004 White House memo:

URBAN LEGEND: The Bush Administration in general, and the Vice President and his office in particular, pressured the Central Intelligence Agency to exaggerate evidence that Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction.
REALITY: Here is the verdict of the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence's bipartisan *Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq*: "The Committee did not find any evidence that intelligence analysts changed their judgments as a result of political pressure, altered or produced intelligence products to conform with administration policy, or that anyone even attempted to coerce, influence, or pressure analysts to do so. When asked whether analysts were pressured in any way to alter their assessments or make their judgments conform with administration policies on Iraq's WMD programs, not a single analyst answered 'yes.'"

URBAN LEGEND: The President and his administration intentionally misled the country into war with Iraq—and the "16 words" that appeared in the 2003 State of the Union are the best proof of it. In the words of Senator Ted Kennedy, "The gross abuse of intelligence was on full display in the President's State of the Union…when he spoke the now infamous 16 words: 'The British government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa.'… As we all now know, that allegation was false…."
REALITY: On July 14, 2004—after a nearly half-year investigation—a special panel reported to the British Parliament that British intelligence had indeed concluded that Saddam Hussein *was* seeking to buy uranium from Africa. *The Review of Intelligence on Weapons of Mass Destruction*, chaired by Lord Butler, summarized: "It is accepted by all parties that Iraqi officials visited Niger in 1999. The British government had intelligence from several different sources indicating that this visit was for the purpose of acquiring uranium…. The statement in President Bush's State of the Union Address of 28 January 2003 that 'The British Government has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa' was well-founded."

In the U.S., the *Report on the U.S. Intelligence Community's Prewar Intelligence Assessments on Iraq* revealed that the CIA considered it important that the Nigerian officials admitted that the Iraqi delegation had traveled there in 1999, and that the Nigerian Prime Minister believed the Iraqis were interested in purchasing uranium, because this provided some confirmation of foreign government service reporting." The Select Committee on Intelligence also noted that the CIA reviewed and cleared the President's State of the Union address....

URBAN LEGEND: Helping democracy take root in Iraq was a postwar rationalization by the Bush administration; it was an argument that was not made prior to going to war. In the words of a November 13, 2003 *New York Times* editorial, "The White House recently began shifting its case for the Iraq war from the embarrassing unconventional weapons issue to the lofty vision of creating an exemplary democracy in Iraq."
REALITY: The President argued the importance of democracy taking root in Iraq before the war began. A February 27, 2003 *New York Times* editorial shatters the very myth the paper was perpetrating just nine months later: "President Bush sketched an expansive vision last night [in an American Enterprise Institute speech] of what he expects to accomplish by a war in Iraq. Instead of focusing on eliminating weapons of mass destruction, or reducing the threat of terror to the United States, Mr. Bush talked about establishing a 'free and peaceful Iraq' that would serve as a 'dramatic and inspiring example' to the entire Arab and Muslim world, provide a stabilizing influence in the Middle East, and even help end the Arab-Israeli conflict. The idea of turning Iraq into a model democracy in the Arab world is one some members of the administration have been discussing for a long time." President Bush's 2002 State of the Union made the same case….

URBAN LEGEND: Saddam Hussein posed no threat. In the words of former Senator Max Cleland, "Iraq was no threat. We now know that. There are no weapons of mass destruction, no nuclear weapons programs, no ties to al-Qaeda. We now know that."
REALITY: Upon his return from Iraq,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

weapons inspector David Kay, head of the Iraq Survey Group, said in Senate testimony: "I think the world is far safer with the disappearance and the removal of Saddam Hussein.... I actually think this may be one of those cases where it was even more dangerous than we thought.... After 1998, it became a regime that was totally corrupt.... And in a world where we know others are seeking WMD, the likelihood at some point in the future of a seller and a buyer meeting up would have made that a far more dangerous country."

Dr. Kay's report noted that, "We have discovered dozens of WMD-related program activities and significant amounts of equipment that Iraq concealed from the United Nations during the inspections that began in late 2002." He concluded, "Saddam, at least as judged by those scientists and other insiders who worked in his military-industrial programs, had not given up his aspirations and intentions to continue to acquire weapons of mass destruction.... Saddam intended to resume these programs whenever the external restrictions were removed. Several of these officials acknowledge receiving inquiries since 2000 from Saddam or his sons about how long it would take to restart CW [chemical weapons] production."

URBAN LEGEND: There were no links between al-Qaeda and Iraq.
REALITY: *The 9/11 Commission Report* indicates that a senior Iraqi intelligence officer met with Osama bin Laden in Sudan in late 1994 or early 1995 and that contacts continued after bin Laden relocated in Afghanistan. Iraq harbored senior members of a terrorist network led by Abu Musab al-Zarqawi, an al-Qaeda associate. CIA Director George Tenet told the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence (in a 10/7/02 letter), "We have solid reporting of senior level contacts between Iraq and al-Qaeda going back a decade." Senator Hillary Clinton stated on October 10, 2002 that Saddam "has given aid, comfort, and sanctuary to terrorists, including al-Qaeda members." The Clinton administration tied Iraq to al-Qaeda back in 1998, arguing that Saddam Hussein had provided technical assistance in the construction of an al-Qaeda chemical plant in Sudan....

URBAN LEGEND: President Bush and his administration wrongly tried to link Iraq and Saddam Hussein to the September 11 attacks. "President Bush should apologize to the American people" for this "plainly dishonest" effort, insists a *New York Times* editorial.
REALITY: Neither President Bush nor any member of his foreign policy team has ever said Iraq was linked to the attacks of September 11. On September 17, 2003, for example, in response to a question from a reporter, President Bush said: "No, we've had no evidence that Saddam Hussein was involved with September 11."

URBAN LEGEND: President Bush has shown an "arrogant disrespect" for the United Nations on Iraq, according to Senator Ted Kennedy.
REALITY: The administration devoted enormous time and energy to pass five separate U.N. Security Council Resolutions on Iraq, each by unanimous vote.... President Bush personally addressed the U.N. General Assembly in September 2002. The administration supported the work of Lakhdar Brahimi, the U.N. special envoy in Iraq, and a continued U.N. role in Iraq's political transition.

URBAN LEGEND: The President launched a "unilateral attack on Iraq," to use the words of former Vermont Governor Howard Dean.
REALITY: The coalition that liberated Iraq ranks among the largest war coalitions ever assembled. President Bush in his 2004 State of the Union address: "Some critics have said our duties in Iraq must be internationalized. This particular criticism is hard to explain to our partners in Britain, Australia, Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, Thailand, Italy, Spain, Poland, Denmark, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Romania, the Netherlands, Norway, El Salvador, and the 17 other countries that have committed troops to Iraq.... There is a difference, however, between leading a coalition of many nations, and submitting to the objections of a few. America will never seek a permission slip to defend the security of our country."

URBAN LEGEND: Flights out of the country for members of the bin Laden family were allowed before national airspace reopened on September 13, 2001; there was political intervention to facilitate the departure of the bin Laden family from America; and the FBI did not properly screen them before their departure.
REALITY: Here are excerpts from *The 9/11 Commission Report:* "First, we found no evidence that any flights of Saudi nationals, domestic or international, took place before the reopening of national airspace on the morning of September 13, 2001. To the contrary, every flight we have identified occurred after national airspace reopened.

Second, we found no evidence of political intervention. We found no evidence that anyone at the White House above the level of Richard Clarke participated in a decision on the departure of Saudi nationals....

Third, we believe that the FBI conducted a satisfactory screening of Saudi nationals who left the United States on charter flights.... The FBI interviewed all persons of interest on these flights prior to their departures. They concluded that none of the passengers was connected to the 9/11 attacks and have since found no evidence to change that conclusion. Our own independent review of the Saudi nationals involved confirms that no one with known links to terrorism departed on these flights."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Cremeans Goes to Washington

By William Pike

"Don't drink the tap water here. Use this stuff in the fridge. I bring it from home."

So said my Congressman, Frank Cremeans, pointing to several gallon milk jugs filled with Ohio water, taking up much of the space in his otherwise barren refrigerator. It was my first full day of life in Washington, and until my own lease began, I was his invited houseguest.

For 14 days I lived with my Congressman in his small, sparse, over-priced, ground-floor apartment with bars on the windows and no telephone. "I have to have somewhere to go where they can't reach me," he explained. These days, when people are surprised that I don't own a cellular phone, I point out that if a Congressman can remain unreachable for a few precious hours each day, so can I.

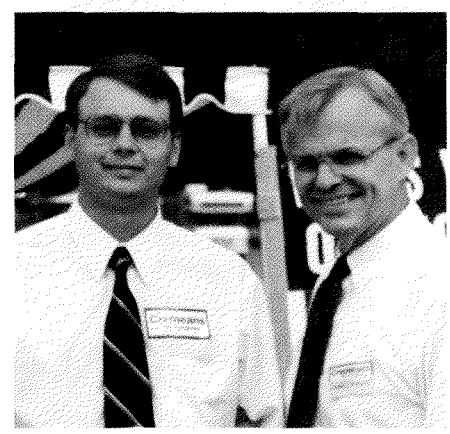
That was June of 1995. Frank had been elected by a slim margin the year before over a Democratic incumbent, in Ohio's largest and most rural Congressional district. A native of that district, I had done some field campaign work for him over the summer. The next year, he brought me onto his staff. Living with him was a fascinating experience. I used to say, "Not many people ever see their Congressman in his pajamas," but this was the sight which greeted me each morning as he awoke early and left for the Capitol, only to arrive back at ten or midnight or, on occasion, not at all.

I happened to agree with Frank Cremeans on almost every policy point we ever came across—a rare mix. But I used to tell friends that he was the sort of person you would want as your representative no matter what your political views. That is because Frank was not in politics for himself, but because he felt it was his duty.

Here was a man of simple background, raised poor in hill country near the Ohio River, where the odds of becoming a success are slim today, let alone five decades ago. But he made his way the best he could, became educated, started a business, and raised a family. He slowly grew in stature and status, and by his fifties he felt it was time to start giving back to the community, the state, and the nation that had given so much to him. It may sound like fiction, but it's fact.

And so he went to Congress, and despite Washington life, he kept his values and personality. I remember watching him end phone calls, hang up, and say with complete sincerity, "It was really good to talk with him." He did his best to meet with visitors and even show them around the Capitol. He made sure that his interns and lowliest staffers (like me) accompanied him to parties and receptions. Frank took me to one of Sonny Bono's parties, made sure I met Newt Gingrich at the Speaker's office, and took me and some constituents to the Capitol dome. It was a great summer for a 22-year-old.

I moved on to other jobs, and Frank lost his re-election bid in 1996. He tried to return, and I helped him campaign, but it didn't work. I kept in close contact with him over the years, but on January 2, 2003, he passed away from a nervous-system disorder, which had overtaken him suddenly. After a healthy life, this vigorous, energetic, dynamic man was gone at age 59.



Bill Pike with his role model, Frank Cremeans.

I mentioned to a friend that someday I might work in politics again. "Are you sure you want to go back into a field with such a bad reputation?" she asked. I explained that while some politicians are truly not worthy of much respect, or even crooked, I also I knew what it was like to work for someone I could believe in, and that I have always hungered for that same sort of assurance since. Frank showed me that there are some leaders worthy of the title.

When I first learned of his death, I wrote to his wife, Carol: *"When I first came to Washington…I was overjoyed. I told Frank earnestly, 'I won't let you down.' I believed in Frank, and he believed in me. It was my honor to work for him."*

So here's to you, Frank. And I won't let you down.

William Pike works at Duke Divinity School. He was first introduced to TAE *by Frank Cremeans.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Flashback

To know nothing of what happened before you were born is to remain ever a child—Cicero

The Many Faces of Mr. Smith

By Bill Kauffman

Gerrit Smith: abolitionist, pacifist, prohibitionist, war hawk.

Gerrit Smith has come down to us through history as the hypochondriacal abolitionist sugar daddy who bought John Brown his guns in 1859 and then avoided prosecution for treason with a well-timed stint in the nuthouse. Smith's posthumous reputation has, of late, taken on a glow: Long disparaged as a fanatic with more money than sense, in recent years he has benefited from the near-canonization of the abolitionists.

A Central New York land speculator whose zeal for human betterment led him to embrace every cause from dress reform to dietary fads, Smith makes easy prey for caricaturists. But he was also a generous man with a genuine sense of civic responsibility.

Smith was so esteemed by his neighbors that he was elected to Congress in 1852 as an independent. He served but one truncated term, quitting partway through for no apparent reason other than that he felt like it. Yet in his brief career, Representative Gerrit Smith compiled a libertarian voting record that might be the envy of such legendary Constitutionalist skinflints as the late H. R. Gross (R-IA) and the great Ron Paul (R-TX).

The voters knew what they were getting in Smith. A year before the election, he published *The True Office of Civil Government*, a pamphlet in which he denied any government role in education, transportation, mail-carrying, moral regulation, and trade.

Investing in the future? Creating an infrastructure for growth? Nurturing children, our most valuable resource? The Muzak of the modern progressive would not move Smith, who informed voters that "the building of railroads and canals and the care of schools and churches fall entirely outside" the limits of government.

Congressman Smith walked the walk. He proposed to abolish customs houses ("I am an absolute free-trade man"), West Point, and the Post Office. He voted against any and all subsidies to private enterprise and even opposed the federal distribution of seeds, for government's "sole legitimate office is to protect the persons and property of its subjects."

He argued for the immediate abolition of slavery on religious grounds: "Slavery is the baldest and biggest lie on earth. In reducing man to a chattel, it denies that man is man; and, in denying that man is man, it denies that God is God; for, in His own image, He made man—the black man and the red man, as well as the white man."

Yet unlike most abolitionists, Smith was a Jeffersonian democrat who favored an agrarian society governed by a night-watchman state. Southern Congressmen found him cordial—a sincere Yorker, not a sanctimonious Yankee.

Smith made a single exception to his radical libertarian voting record: He could not countenance the sale of the demon rum. He voted and speechified for the banning of the traffic in spirits, all the while insisting, incongruously, that "Government is not the custodian of the people's morals."

Congressman Smith was also a virtual pacifist, decrying "the dark, barbarous, baleful spirit of war." No cause, he believed, was worth carnage: "God forbid that American slavery should come to a violent end. I hold...that no r evolution is worth the shedding of blood."

A decade later the war came, and everything changed. Like many abolitionists, he first took a "good riddance" approach to the seceding states of the Deep South, though once blood was spilled, he outhawked the most bellicose Republicans.

Soon Gerrit Smith was calling for conscription and the suppression of Democratic newspapers. He sneered that Lincoln "would have made a good President had he only not been trained to worship the Constitution," which Smith dismissed as "a petty thing."

"Save the Constitution in time of Peace," declared Smith. "But in time of War save the Country with or without the Constitution." The Congressman Smith of 1853 would have been appalled.

After the war, Smith convinced prohibitionists to organize within the infelicitously named Anti-Dramshop Party. The moniker never caught on, though the cause did.

Today we remember Gerrit Smith as an apostle of war and bloodshed. The Gerrit Smith who once tried to give voice to a gentle rural American anarchism is, well, gone with the wind.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Reagan Revolution Lives On

By Grover Norquist

We must wait for several weeks to learn who will serve as President from January 2005 to January 2009. But one question asked in 2000 can now be answered: Will the Reagan coalition continue to define the nature and structure of the modern Republican Party?

In 2000, Texas governor George W. Bush ran as the heir to Ronald Reagan's coalition, dedicated to cutting taxes, limiting government, maintaining a strong national defense, and keeping the secular state from trampling the rights of believers and parents. This "Leave Us Alone" coalition doesn't demand validation. Gun owners oppose gun control; they don't demand "gun stamps," or that public school children read *Heather Has Two Hunters*.

This coalition was challenged by Pat Buchanan, who suggested the GOP be transformed into an anti-immigration party of protectionism and isolationism. It was a reasonable proposal: The Republican Party of the early twentieth century looked a lot like this. But in 2000, Pat Buchanan dropped out of the GOP primary and won only 450,000 votes, or 0.42 percent, as a Reform Party candidate, dwarfed by Ralph Nader's 3 million votes.

Others suggested different alternatives. Arizona Senator John McCain offered something approaching an American Gaullism—not a vision, but his own persona. Some favored "National Greatness Conservatism," arguing that Americans could find meaning through the state rather than individual pursuits like faith or work. At various times, this philosophy was attributed to McCain or Steve Forbes, both of whom flirted with the appellation.

The 2004 Republican primaries were the testing ground for these different visions, and the Reagan/Bush vision was the clear victor. First off, no protectionist or anti-immigrant candidate presented himself in the GOP primary, even for a symbolic run. (In 1972, 1976, and 1992, sitting Republican Presidents faced primary opponents.) And in the primary campaigns for the U.S. House and Senate in 2004, Republicans re-committed themselves to the small government, low tax consensus.

On taxes, every single Republican to win an open primary seat has signed the Americans for Tax Reform's Taxpayer Protection Pledge. In Nebraska, the heir apparent to retiring Congressman Doug Bereuter, state senator Curt Bramm, was defeated solely because he backed a state tax hike. The obvious GOP candidate to run in Oregon's 5th district, the African American Jackie Winters, was defeated in her primary because she voted for a Democratic tax hike in 2003. In Kansas, all four Congressional primaries and the senate primary were won by candidates opposing tax hikes. Even the son of former Kansas Senator Nancy Kassebaum, a tax hiker, was defeated by the anti-tax candidate in the primary contest for his state representative seat. The effort by some in the media to create a "pro-tax increase" wing of the Republican Party was revealed as a liberal media fantasy.

Immigrant bashing failed in a primary challenge against Representative Chris Cannon of Utah, the President's strongest ally in maintaining a pro-immigrant GOP. Cannon defeated primary challenger Matt Throckmorton despite the best efforts of immigrant bashing groups. Up and coming conservative state legislator Rick Oller lost his primary when his anti-immigrant ads were denounced as promoting anti-Muslim bigotry. Wealthy Republican Representative Tim Phillips was defeated in a primary by Goli Ameri—partly in response to his campaign's attacks on the Iranian's ethnicity. Conservative leader Vernon Robinson lost his bid for the Republican nomination to Virginia Foxx after Jack Kemp denounced his anti-immigration advertising and withdrew his endorsement.

Protectionism had its best opportunity for a comeback in textile-sensitive South Carolina when former governor David Beasley ran on the strength of name recognition and financing from protectionist textile magnate Roger Milliken. He was defeated by nearly 20 points by free trader Jim DeMint. No Republican who voted for a free trade agreement, from NAFTA to Chile to Singapore, has lost a primary as a result.

The principles and commitments of a party need to be tested in primary challenges. In a free and democratic society, good policy only thrives if it's run through the wringer of sound politics. The lesson of the last four years is that the limited government, pro-free trade, and immigrant-friendly Reagan coalition remains intact.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Our "Ally" Egypt

By James Glassman

In this Olympic year, a new record has been achieved in a popular international sport: bashing America.

A survey of six Arab countries in June by Zogby International found that 98 percent of Egyptian citizens have an "unfavorable attitude" toward the United States. Yes, 98 percent! That's up from 76 percent in 2002 and smashes the old mark, 87 percent, held by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates.

What's remarkable about the accomplishment is that Egypt is the No. 2 recipient of U.S. aid—$50 billion since 1975.

What do we get in return? Well, about 60 percent of the aid is military, but Egypt was definitely not a member of the Coalition of the Willing in Iraq—even though the Egyptian government was happy to see Saddam Hussein disappear. According to General Tommy Franks' new book, *American Soldier*, Hosni Mubarak, Egypt's president, told the U.S. that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction, but still refused to support the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf.

As for economics, Egypt, with a per-capita GDP of $1,221 (one-sixth the level of Thailand) is a basket case—a classic example of the failure of command-and-control policies. Egypt ranks ninety-fifth, behind such nations as Sri Lanka and Burkina Faso, on the Index of Economic Freedom compiled by the Heritage Foundation and *Wall Street Journal*, which measures property rights, trade and monetary policy, and overall government intervention in the economy.

Nor has American money moved Egypt closer to democracy. Mubarak has ruled Egypt for 23 years now under an emergency law that followed the assassination of his predecessor, Anwar Sadat. Mubarak is the sole candidate in occasional plebiscites, and he has groomed his son as his successor.

Mubarak stays in power as many other Middle East authoritarians do, in large part by blaming the U.S. and Israel for his country's problems. Here, from the Web site of the Middle East Media Research Institute, are typical items in the official and quasi-official Egyptian press: An Egyptian government weekly magazine piece spills ink on "The Jews Slaughtering Non-Jews, Draining Their Blood, and Using It for Talmudic Religious Rituals"; an Egyptian government paper claims, "The American Intervention in Darfur is a Plot to Control Sudanese Oil."

Of course, Egypt presents a foreign-policy problem for America. In theory, anyway, things could be worse. Mubarak did urge Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat to accept the deal President Clinton brokered with Israel at Camp David.

Still, Arafat's rejectionism didn't change Egypt's position on Israel, the U.S., and the Jews—nor should we expect it to. Dictators need external threats, even if they don't exist.

But democracies like the United States need clarity. The double game we have been playing with countries like Egypt isn't working. Most Egyptians—like most Saudis, Syrians, and others in the Arab and Muslim world—hate us for

Egyptian university students burn an American flag.

two apparently contradictory reasons. First, their leaders use a vast propaganda network to vilify us, and, second, we help keep those same leaders in power, mocking our own values. What to do?

Cut aid to Egypt, which doesn't appreciate it, and for symmetry, to Israel, which doesn't need it.

Make it crystal clear that President Bush means what he said in February: that "America is pursuing a forward strategy of freedom in the Middle East." We need to get on the side of reformers in Egypt.

Demand free-market economic policies. As the U.N. points out in the second of an excellent series of Arab Human Development Reports, total GDP in the entire Arab world is about the same as Spain's, productivity is falling, "the middle class…is on the wane," and there's been a "general erosion of societal incentives for knowledge acquisition."

Also, publicize the vicious and loony lies that the Egyptian government is promoting about the United States—and fight back by launching serious, well-funded programs of public diplomacy to promote U.S. policies and values.

It's hard to see how being forceful, honest, and consistent can hurt America's standing in Egypt and other Arab countries. There's nowhere to go but up.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Blurring Language, Taking Homes

By Dana Berliner and Scott Bullock

Owning a home, starting a business: It's the American Dream, which lured millions of immigrants, like Mr. and Mrs. Ciavaglia, to America. The Ciavaglias found their dream in New London, Connecticut, where they bought a home near the waterfront in 1901. Their daughter, Wilhelmina Dery, born in 1918, still lives there today, with her son Matt, his wife Sue, and their son.

But for the past four years, Wilhelmina Dery has been fighting to keep her home, and in July she took her fight to the U.S. Supreme Court. She may be forced to move not because of ill health or poor finances, but because the city and a private development corporation want to put up a hotel, office buildings, and upscale housing in the area where her home stands.

The corporation, backed by the city government, filed eminent domain actions in court to acquire 15 homes, including the Derys', claiming that the greater tax revenue the new development would bring justifies the move. In a dangerous legal precedent, the Connecticut Supreme Court agreed. How we reached this point is one of the greatest legal tragedies of the twentieth century.

"Nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation." With these few words, the Fifth Amendment places two significant limits on the government's right to take property. First, government can only take property for *public use*—for public roads and buildings, or for privately owned public utilities—and second, it must pay for the property.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court abandoned this understanding. The case involved the condemnation of a low-income area of southwest Washington, D.C. for redevelopment. One businessman objected that his store, which was in good shape, would simply be handed over to another private retail establishment, not a facility for public use. In response, the Supreme Court redefined public use to mean "public purpose." Clearing away slums is a public purpose, it said, and whatever happens to the property after the condemnation doesn't change that purpose.

Local and state legislatures eagerly read the Court's decision as an invitation to transfer other people's property to private developers. At first, they took property only in terrible neighborhoods, then in bad ones, then in decent ones, and now in areas that are positively desirable. And the beneficiaries are often the largest, most powerful enterprises in the country: Wal-Mart, Home Depot, Costco, the New York Stock Exchange, even the *New York Times*.

There are two ways in which governments abuse their power of eminent domain. The first is to stretch the concept of "blight" into the realm of parody. The second is to dispense even with that label and simply admit they're looking for more tax revenue. That's what happened to the Derys in New London. In a 4-3 decision, the Connecticut Supreme Court decided that—even when there's nothing wrong with your house or neighborhood—if a developer comes up with an idea for your property the city likes better than your home, you're out of luck.

As a policy matter, it hardly needs arguing that central planning is not the best strategy for prosperity. The wave of "urban renewal" in the 1950s and '60s gave us the devastated inner cities of today, and many projects become expensive, taxpayer-funded white elephants. But the success or failure of the project shouldn't be the issue. Eminent domain abuse is (or should be) illegal, and it's also plain wrong. Wrong to throw some people out of their homes so others can live there. Wrong to remove someone's small business—someone's slice of the American Dream—to make room for another.

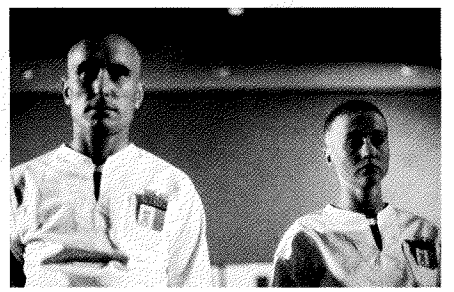
The tide does finally seem to be changing. After years of rubber-stamping, courts are beginning to cut back on the use of eminent domain for private parties. In 2001, the Illinois Supreme Court rejected the condemnation of one person's land to make room for parking for a neighboring racetrack. In July, the Michigan Supreme Court unanimously overturned a similar precedent. Some legislatures are beginning to consider reform, and a few, like Colorado and Arizona, are even passing it. Public outcry has led to change at the city level, as well as referenda to defeat proposed condemnations.

The Supreme Court has not considered a case of eminent domain for development in half a century. But with the appeal from the Derys', it has the opportunity to consider whether the Constitution's public use requirement is a defender of the American Dream, or just an empty promissory note.

Dana Berliner and Scott Bullock are senior attorneys with the Institute for Justice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mind the Machines



Robert Duvall plays THX 1138, and Maggie McOmie is LUH 3417.

By Josh Larsen

If computers "got" irony, they would likely smirk at the re-release of George Lucas's first film, a dystopian science-fiction tale from 1971 called *THX 1138*.

In this new director's cut, Lucas hasn't changed the original narrative, a bleak portrait of a future society in thrall to machines; he's added a slew of sleek and modern computer-generated images—an ironic form of improvement for a sci-fi flick about soul-killing computers.

In a sense, Lucas's career has been a gradual refutation of the central theme of *THX 1138*—the dehumanizing effects of technology. Aside from the character-driven nostalgia piece, *American Graffiti* (the anomaly in his filmography), Lucas has largely concentrated on his vast *Star Wars* series, movies that have become more technically wondrous, and technology dependent, with each new installment. Though they still retain much of their adventuresome charm, the latest *Star Wars* pictures feel less the fruit of a creative mind and more the product of the computer systems at work in *THX 1138*.

One of those decades-old sci-fi films that feels more prescient with each passing year, *THX 1138* centers around a human worker—the title is the serial number that serves as his name—toiling in a cruelly efficient society. Anything that interferes with production, be it emotions, sex, or religion, has been either outlawed or catered to in the most basic of ways. When THX (Robert Duvall) opens his medicine cabinet, a robotic surveillance system inside asks, "What's wrong?" and then prescribes the appropriate combination of sedatives. When THX stops taking his pills and feels true emotions for the first time, he begins an eye-opening odyssey toward freedom.

Even before its recent retooling, *THX 1138* was a technical marvel. Working with co-screenwriter and sound-design master Walter Murch, Lucas creates much of the sterile, computerized world through simple, off-screen aural effects. Machines bleep, robots whir, and speakers drone emotionless commands like so many HAL 9000s.

The visual design is as arresting as anything in Lucas's *Star Wars* films. Much of it, in fact, foreshadows the look of his better-known work, from its metallic corridors to its shiny-faced robots. Yet there are also images that are far more surreal and unsettling, often making *THX 1138* feel like a sadist's version of the *Star Wars* universe. When THX is captured, he and a group of detainees are abandoned in an endless and undefined white space, where the foreground and background can hardly be distinguished from each other—infinite expanse as the ultimate prison.

After THX breaks free from this computer-monitored—maybe even computer-generated—holding area, each step he takes towards freedom leads him further and further from technology. From the sleek, metallic corridors of the underground city, he makes his way to the surface, where the barren landscape reveals a burning sunset—and hardly any man-made objects at all.

Lucas's filmmaking, unlike THX, has been chasing after the latest technology ever since. Aesthetically, this has all been for the good. There is no doubt that the computer-generated images added to the director's cut of *THX 1138* (new robot effects and background scenery) make for a more fully realized vision. What previously looked like a shoestring production, as it largely was, now bustles with the busyness of an actual world.

But does this necessarily make for a better movie? What's disturbing about Lucas's increasing reliance on technology isn't so much the results, but the philosophy behind them. He no longer sees computers as aids—just another cinematic tool—but as correctives, ways of "fixing" past movies. Thankfully both the original and the director's cut of *THX 1138* are available on DVD. Fans of the first three *Star Wars* films haven't been so lucky. Recently only the "special edition" versions, full of even more drastic computer-generated tinkering, have been released on DVD.

There is significance here beyond the legitimate complaints of purists who want to own the films as they were originally released. What Lucas is ushering in, aside from new technology, is a new way of approaching movie history. By reworking his past films without making their original formats available, he is in effect replacing, rather than building upon, our shared movie culture. It may be inevitable that the future belongs to computers; must they also take over the past?

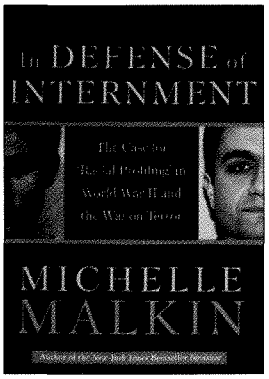
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BookTalk

ABSOLUTE THREAT

By Karina Rollins

In Defense of Internment: The Case for "Racial Profiling" in World War II and the War on Terror
By Michelle Malkin
Regnery, 376 pages, $27.95



No, despite what the title of her new book might lead you to believe, Michelle Malkin does not want to round up Muslims and ship them off to fenced-in camps in the desert. She does want to infuse the debate over national security and civil rights with a much-needed dose of reality—always guaranteed to offend members of the Left. When it comes to World War II, *In Defense of Internment* means exactly what you think: Malkin defends the evacuation from the West Coast, and the relocation or internment, of tens of thousands of ethnic Japanese.

How could she possibly do so? By digging through mountains of primary documents at the Library of Congress, the National Archives, and research facilities in Seattle and Berkeley, and unearthing what few children are taught in school and what few adults know: complete history.

Much of *In Defense* is a straightforward narration of historical events. For many readers, including this reviewer, the book provides first-time insight into the towering scale and immediacy of the threat posed by the Japanese.

Meticulously, she presents the contents of intercepted top-secret Japanese diplomatic "MAGIC" cables, Japanese-language newspapers in the U.S., transcripts of interviews with Japanese spies, and U.S. government memos to reveal the success of the Japanese in building a spy network in the United States, and of their extensive monitoring of American ships, planes, soldiers, and facilities.

The evidence not only of widespread *Issei* (native Japanese living in the U.S.) but also *Nisei* (American-born ethnic Japanese) collaboration with the enemy is shocking, and the number of Japanese military successes based on such collusion, staggering. The Pearl Harbor bombing itself was facilitated by a Honolulu spy cell that "monitored ship movements, water currents, and available support systems.... [The cell] also provided Japan with detailed maps, copies of which were found in the cockpits of downed Japanese fighter planes following the attack."

The evidence is there for the viewing: Nearly half the book is a collection of appendices and notes containing copies of deciphered Japanese code messages, internal U.S. government correspondence, tables, and photos of key war figures and life in the camps ("neither luxury resorts nor barbaric prisons"). Part of a MAGIC cable from Los Angeles to Tokyo, dated May 9, 1941, reads: "We shall...maintain close connections with the Japanese Association, the Chamber of Commerce, and the newspapers.... We have already established contacts with the absolutely reliable Japanese in the San Pedro and San Diego area..." (There were 117,000 ethnic Japanese living on the West Coast, within close reach of 88 vital U.S. military installations.)

Not only is such information virtually unknown, it has become taboo to even have a debate on potential legitimate reasons for the internment. Schools, universities, Asian-American organizations, the media, even the U.S. Congress, which granted $1.65 billion in reparations to 82,000 of Japanese ancestry in 1988, promote today's popularly accepted—and only acceptable—version of WWII internment as unfounded American hysteria and sheer racism. (No mention that almost 11,000 Germans were interned in the same camps as the Japanese; that *Nisei* who lived outside the West Coast were not required to move; or that other countries, including Canada, Britain, Germany, Australia, and Mexico, also interned enemy suspects in wartime.)

While it remains arguable that uprooting droves of American citizens from their homes was wrong, Malkin has convincingly documented that "FDR's internment measures were based not on anti-Japanese racism...but on common-sense *nationality* distinctions in time of war."

Kudos to her, but why this book now? Because "civil liberties absolutists have invoked the World War II evacuation and relocation of ethnic Japanese to attack virtually every homeland security initiative aimed at protecting Americans from murderous Islamic extremists." Because

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Malkin sees the need to point out to her fellow citizens what should be an obvious and ideology-free recognition: "In a time of war, the survival of the nation comes first. Civil liberties are *not* sacrosanct.... Liberty and the pursuit of happiness cannot be secured and protected without securing and protecting life first." Because "the politically correct myth of American 'concentration camps'...is endangering us today."

Malkin points to some of the dangerous civil-liberties ideology in George W. Bush's own administration—most notably in Transportation Secretary Norman Mineta, who likens any attempt at extra scrutiny for Arab-looking men to the internment camps of his childhood—but pulls her punches when it comes to taking to task the President himself, who could fire Mineta, and chooses to praise him.

Malkin has come to terms with the cruel reality, as far too few people have, that "We are at war with stateless enemies abroad and Islamist infiltrators at home who will not stop plotting to kill us unless we kill them first overseas and nab them pre-emptively on our own soil." Her book is "a defense of racial, ethnic, religious, and nationality profiling"—what she terms "threat profiling"—since "providing for the common defense is the government's paramount function—not guaranteeing the right of Muslims to board planes without hassles."

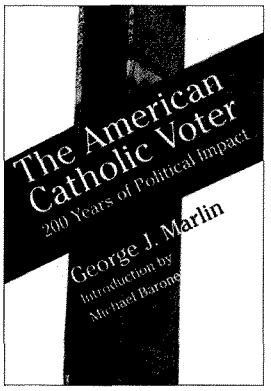
In his fireside chat of February 23, 1942, FDR told his fellow Americans: "We know now that if we lose this war it will be generations or even centuries before our conception of democracy can live again." Three years after the monstrosities of 9/11, it takes a young woman born to immigrant parents from the Philippines to remind her fellow Americans that: "As commander in chief, Roosevelt resolutely understood [that a] nation can't stand for anything unless it is still standing. For defending this unalterable truth, America need never apologize."

Karina Rollins is a TAE *senior editor.*

CATHOLIC AMERICA

By Scott Walter

The American Catholic Voter: 200 Years of Political Impact
By George Marlin
St. Augustine's Press, 420 pages, $30



Catholics remain a swing group no politician can afford to ignore, which is why both Presidential candidates should study *The American Catholic Voter,* a rollicking ride through the history of Catholics in America by Brooklyn-born, Irish-bred banker and sometime-pol George Marlin.

The book begins with Protestant-Catholic conflict in seventeenth-century Britain, sketched in Michael Barone's meaty introduction, and ends with 2004 headlines depicting Washington's Cardinal McCarrick hemming and hawing over whether to deny Holy Communion to the first Catholic Presidential candidate in 44 years.

Chronicling the shifting allegiances of his co-religionists, Marlin skillfully balances the larger issues affecting elections with the backroom maneuvering in which the Emerald Isle's sons have long excelled. While never dry, Marlin's text is sturdily supported with statistics and citations from a broad bibliography. His heroes are the poor, hard-working Irish, German, Italian, and Slavic immigrants who climbed their way up the American ladder with help from local parishes and political machines.

As the American Revolution began, Catholics were less than 1 percent of the population. By 1800, Catholic voters (aka "wild Irishmen") were both attacked and wooed by office-seekers. The Federalists warned against allowing this rabble to vote, while the rabble's votes were eagerly sought by the Democratic-Republicans (as the Democratic Party was first known) led by Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson. Burr was a masterful pol and made good use of New York City's Tammany Society, established in 1787.

In the years leading to the Civil War, heavy immigration boosted Catholics to 12 percent of the nation's population, and their concentration in big cities increased their political heft. As early as 1838, a New York governor courted Catholics with talk of state support for parochial schools. But such talk inflamed nativists, and they and their Catholic foes were juggled by the various political parties from mid-century onward.

The new Republican Party bobbed and weaved with Catholics and nativists, but chose Abraham Lincoln as its 1860 standard-bearer in part because he had *not* been anti-immigrant; in return, German Catho lic immigrants may well "have provided his margin of victory," Barone observes.

Still, for most of the nineteenth century, Catholics leaned strongly toward the Democratic Party, then quite different from its current incarnation. It had, with Jefferson, championed limited, "frugal," and decentralist government. From the end of the nineteenth century through the first decades of the twentieth, the Party was captured by evangelical Protestants and rural populists under such champions as William Jennings Bryan, causing Catholic voters to desert their national leaders at the polls (even as they kept their local Democratic machines humming).

In 1928 another shift in forces put the first Catholic, Al Smith, at the top of the Democratic ticket. He was defeated amidst much anti-Catholic bigotry, but by bringing urban Catholics back to the fold he planted the seeds of a new governing majority that his successor FDR would harvest in the next four contests.

Yet FDR didn't care much for Al

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Smith (and vice versa), preferring instead the supercilious tradition of Woodrow Wilson that later begot the self-satisfied loser Adlai Stevenson. The Democrats were trudging the road to big, centralized government based not on city machines like Tammany, which were relatively humane and moderate, but on "social science" and "progressive" ideology. While the machines employed a few wardheelers who knew every man, woman, and child in their precinct, government by social science spawned sprawling, inhuman bureaucracies that tended to wretched excess—out-of-control federal welfare programs, the devastation that "urban renewal" brought to old city neighborhoods.

Eventually, this philosophic shift brought a backlash that allowed first Nixon and then Reagan to re-assemble FDR's old coalition of Southern Protestants and Northern Catholics under Republican auspices.

Marlin's beloved Catholic immigrants were conservative on social questions and moderately liberal on fiscal issues—call them anti-yuppies. (Today's Hispanics look to continue the pattern.) But many of their descendants have recently softened in the faith, turning into suburbanites who are more blasé about abortion than, say, federal deficits. So Marlin now follows the wiser pollsters and restricts the term "Catholic voter" to those who practice their faith.

They now amount to only about 9 percent of the electorate, yet their propensity to swing between parties in battleground states explains Bush's preaching "compassionate conservatism" at Notre Dame and Kerry's recent claim that he thinks life begins at conception. Both campaigns keep seeing glimpses of the elections of Andrew Jackson, Lincoln, FDR, and Reagan in their rear-view mirrors.

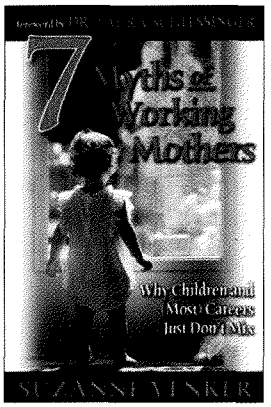
For the big picture, read this book.

TAE contributing writer Scott Walter is vice president of The Philanthropy Roundtable.

MATERNAL MISCONCEPTIONS

By S. T. Karnick

7 Myths of Working Mothers: Why Children and (Most) Careers Just Don't Mix
By Suzanne Venker
Spence Publishing, 208 pages, $24.95



In *7 Myths of Working Mothers,* Suzanne Venker documents the deterioration of American children's well-being over the past three decades, and she convincingly traces the great majority of it to the effects of mothers' mass movement into the workplace. Most effective is her attention to the causal relationships among the various factors. She notes how the hurried pace of modern family life prevents children from getting enough sleep, how parents' lack of time to prepare healthy meals and monitor children's play (which leads to excessive television watching) increases obesity among the young.

According to Venker, feminists, aided by mass media, the government, and business, have convinced the public that a normal woman cannot be happy without a career outside the home. Venker refutes this popular notion by demonstrating that most mothers working full-time outside the home are *not* happy. And it is natural for women to be concerned about their children in a way that fathers often cannot be. "The reason the women's movement continues to hit a brick wall is because its platform demands that women put themselves first—and yet the overwhelming majority of women discover, once they become mothers, that they no longer want to," Venker writes.

Fathers don't "have it all" either. A parent working full-time outside the home (as most fathers do) cannot provide more than "peripheral parenting." Women have been forced into "chasing a dream that none of us, male or female, has ever achieved—or ever will achieve."

Venker also documents just how little a couple gains economically when a second parent enters the workforce. "The truth is," she writes, "that middle class working mothers have made money the scapegoat." Their real motive, claims Venker, is personal fulfillment. That may be an honorable goal, Venker concedes, but not when it comes at the expense of children whom one has chosen to bring into the world.

Her avoidance of traditionalist rhetoric and assumptions strengthens her persuasiveness, but there is room for ingenuity. Consideration of multiple-child dynamics would have made the book more useful. A greater number of children increases the total amount of work in a household, but older children can contribute greatly to that effort.

Researchers should also consider how the time crunch for working mothers harms their marriages. Venker briefly alludes to this problem—noting that she neglected her marriage while writing the book—but fails to follow up.

Finally, to know the full effects of the working-mothers illusion, it is important to compile some good statistics on how the two types of families live and feel. We should be able to compare divorce rates of couples in which both parents work to those in which one stays home, the achievements of children of both types of family, the levels of happiness and personal satisfaction reported, and so on. Venker did not do any original survey research for the book, a deficiency that she and other authors on both sides of the question should rush to rectify.

Nevertheless, this is a useful and interesting book that just might improve the lives of some parents and their children.

S. T. Karnick is senior editor at the Heartland Institute and a fellow at the Sagamore Institute.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Edited by Eli Lehrer

Digest

Summaries of important new research from the nation's universities, think tanks, and investigative publications

POLITICS

The Dems Speak

Tom Vilsack et al., *Stronger at Home, Respected in The World: The Democratic Platform for America,* July 2004 (democrats.org)

The Democratic Party's 2004 platform, issued shortly before the party's Boston convention, speaks of "immeasurably high" stakes going into the 2004 election. It paints a grim picture of America, in which "our great middle class is hard pressed," and "our alliances are frayed, our credibility in doubt." The platform, however, tempers this with a declaration that Democrats will "affirm our faith in the greatness of America."

Among the platform's key provisions are pledges to add 40,000 active-duty soldiers to the military, to create a cabinet-evel Director of National Intelligence, and to achieve energy independence through tax credits and other measures. Other proposals include a high-tech friendly industrial policy, increased tax credits for businesses, labor and environmental provisions in all international trade agreements, fiscal discipline, and a $7 an hour minimum wage.

The platform also calls for national catastrophic health insurance to "pick up the tab for the highest-cost medical cases" and takes sides in the culture wars with opposition to the proposed federal marriage amendment and a call for "full inclusion of gay and lesbian families in the life of our nation."

GOP Expands Goals

Bill Frist et al., *A Safer World and a More Hopeful America,* August 2004 (gop.org)

The Republican Party's 2004 platform was not released until the convention's opening in New York City, underscoring its emphasis on correcting the national failures that led to the Manhattan skyline's open wound on 9/11. The platform's largest section, "Winning the War on Terror," firmly endorses the USA Patriot Act and other Bush security legislation, pledges to secure America's borders and sovereignty, and promotes Bush's "Forward Strategy of Freedom," which calls on the U.S. to support democracy and reform in the Middle East.

On economic policy, "ownership" forms a strong theme. The GOP calls for the option of "personal retirement accounts" in Social Security, health savings accounts, and tort reform to come to the aid of small businesses. The platform also calls for Congress to make the Bush tax cuts permanent and to promote educational choice and accountability. It also lays out an extensive plan for controlling government spending.

The platform trumpets the introduction of a prescription-drug benefit for Medicare, but advocates tax-based savings incentives for further reform. As for cultural issues, the platform opposes abortion, federal funding for embryonic stem cell research, and any legal recognition of gay relationships.

—*Stephen Dewey*

ECONOMICS AND REGULATION

Fixing the U.S. Postal Service

Rick Geddes, "Timid Steps Toward Postal Reform," *AEI Postal Reform Paper,* July 2004 (aei.org)

Under competition from e-mail, faxes, and private delivery companies, the nation's giant postal monopoly has lost billions of dollars over the last decade, leading many to the conclusion that the U.S. Postal Service needs some sort of reform. Two bills winding their way through Congress address this, but the steps they propose are too timid and minor to make a major difference, writes Presidential economic adviser and former AEI scholar Rick Geddes.

Geddes finds some things to like in the proposals before Congress. Most importantly, the proposals would chip away at the near-total monopoly of the Postal Service on first class mail and divide its products into two segments—areas where it has a monopoly and areas where it does not—which would face different standards of regulation.

A host of small changes in the bill creates minor improvements, Geddes argues. Most important, it would limit

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the U.S. Postal Service's monopoly on letter delivery to packages costing less than six times the stamp price. (Companies charging more than that would be free to offer any services they wanted.) The House and Senate bills offer two different schemes (the Senate version being much more comprehensive) for limiting the Postal Service's non-postal activities, such as helping with e-commerce transactions and peddling telephone calling cards. The bills would also offer an enormous payout to the Postal Service by transferring the responsibility for its retirees' pensions to the taxpayers.

The legislation, however, would not address a number of other issues, such as closing inefficient rural post offices, ending the Postal Service's exclusive right to use homeowners' mailboxes, or taking any meaningful steps towards the total abolition of the postal monopoly.

CULTURE AND SOCIETY

That's All, Folks?

Justin Peters, "Toon In: The Best TV Happens When No One Is Looking," *Washington Monthly*, June 2004 (washingtonmonthly.com)

During the 1930s and 1940s, Americans enjoyed what many consider a golden age of hand-drawn animation. Animators for Disney, Warner Brothers, and a handful of other studios produced gorgeous, witty, hand-drawn cartoons that transfixed the audience's attention before feature films. The growth of television in the 1950s led to animation's long, slow decline. Looking to cut costs, please parents, and avoid offending anyone, studios churned out bland, boring, poorly drawn cartoons. While a few such as "The Flintstones" and "Scooby Doo" displayed a modicum of wit, most were utterly forgettable. By the 1980s, half-hour toy commercials like "He-Man" and "G.I. Joe" dominated the airwaves.

Today, posits Washington writer Justin Peters, animation is entering a new golden age. The epicenter of today's animation revolution, Peters finds, is a "decrepit looking old warehouse" in downtown Atlanta where the Cartoon Network produces its nightly "Adult Swim" block. The block, a mixture of reruns and original programming, attracts grownups to watch archly funny, snarky animated shows like "Aqua Teen Hunger Force" (about a "crime-fighting" group of fast food items who don't fight crime but do make a lot of bizarre pronouncements), and "Family Guy" (an absurdist take on a dysfunctional but loving Rhode Island family).

Unlike animation's previous golden age, the new productions are put together as cheaply as possible, writes Peters. For the most part, this means new computer animation techniques, amateur voice talent, and little real movement on the screen. However, the spare animation is redeemed by excellent writing.

NATIONAL SECURITY

A Vision for the Future

Thomas Donnelly, "The Top Ten Questions for the Post 9/11 World," *AEI National Security Outlook*, July 2004 (aei.org)

In a series of very short essays outlining the state of the post-9/11 world, AEI fellow Thomas Donnelly sketches a broad overview of a world that's changed significantly in some respects as a result of the Islamist terror attacks but remains the same in others.

Above all, Donnelly contends, "the fundamental correlation of power in the world remains the same." The United States still enjoys enormous power, and liberal democracy continues to flourish around the world. Despite the threat of international terror, the era is still one of *Pax Americana*.

The U.S., Donnelly writes, has mostly come to grips with its status and the fact that it will have to operate in an international environment. This is all the more important because the major allies like France and Germany are actually cutting defense spending, thanks to tepid economic growth and the ever-growing burden of maintaining a lavish welfare state. The major threats are growing: China, an increasingly important power; "political Islam" in the form of al-Qaeda et al.; and illiberal, nuclear-armed states, such as Pakistan and North Korea. Donnelly argues that America's overriding goal should be the continued expansion of the liberal political order through the transformation and integration of China and the Arab world into that order.

Dealing with all of these threats will require a cagey mix of old and new strategies and tactics. Although he admits it is an oversimplification, Donnelly writes that "the military containment of China is fundamentally a job for firepower," or naval and air forces. "The transformation of the political order in the Middle East is principally a task of manpower"—that is, land forces.

Maintaining this dual capacity is largely a matter of will. But if the nation lacks the will to confront both China and Islamic extremism, a variety of other scenarios is possible. It might partner with China to contain Islamism or try to contain it around the periphery by encouraging liberalism in Northwest Africa and Southeast Asia. Neither of these scenarios, however, is likely to be as effective as the direct approach.

SCIENCE AND ENVIRONMENT

Smarter Is Better

Linda Gottfredson, "Schools and the 'g' Factor," *Wilson Quarterly*, Summer 2004 (wilsonquarterly.com)

Under the influence of the nation's egalitarian, meritocratic ethos, many Americans refuse to believe that intelligence exists in any way that can

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

easily be measured. University of Delaware professor Linda Gottfredson, one of the country's more controversial academics, argues otherwise. Indeed, she contends, understanding "g"—the general mental ability factor—is the key to improving education in the U.S.

The variable known as "g" arose when scientists studying intelligence noticed that people who did well on one set of mental tests tended to do well on all of them. For the most part, Gottfredson finds, efforts to increase "g" have not proven successful: The factor appears to be at least partly genetic and largely influenced by events very early in a person's life. While the development of "g" is very complex, it appears to have a great deal of influence over outcomes involving everything from professional success to life expectancy.

In the last 20 or so years, education schools have fallen under the influence of scholars like Harvard's Howard Gardner and Yale's Robert Sternberg, who posit theories of multiple intelligences. Gardner, for example, offers eight types of intelligence, ranging from linguistic to bodily-kinesthetic (sports). Although Gottfredson doesn't totally discard Gardner's work, she does question its applicability. Several of Gardner's intelligence types—linguistic, logical-mathematical, visual-spatial—are directly connected to "g." Others, such as bodily-kinesthetic intelligence, rarely or never represent "alternate pathways to mastering school curricula, jobs, or everyday tasks."

So far, however, education textbooks offer little guidance about intelligence besides vague and misleading endorsements of work produced by Gardner and others. Tests which attempt to measure "g" are cast in a bad light. As a result, writes Gottfredson, a trend has developed toward mixed-ability classrooms that, despite protests from parents and teachers alike, attempt to treat all students as if they had the same ability to learn.

This approach is bound to fail, Gottfredson argues, because children really do differ in this regard. The best systems will work to "develop curricula and classroom techniques that well serve the nation's cognitively diverse students."

OTHER COUNTRIES

Bad Priorities in the Arab World

Tamara Cofman Wittes, "The Promise of Arab Liberalism," *Policy Review*, July 2004 (policyreview.org)

Change in the Arab world, Brookings Institution fellow Tamara Cofman Wittes believes, must come from the grass roots rather than existing government structures. U.S. programs such as the Middle East Partnership Initiative (MEPI) and the National Endowment for Democracy, however, focus on top-down approaches such as working with existing governments, rather than the hard work of building civil society.

An analysis of MEPI spending indicates that a disproportionately large percentage of funding has been allocated to "already overbearing government bureaucracies." The most disheartening effect of these spending patterns, Cofman Wittes writes, is that it "makes U.S. assistance even more supportive of the regimes' preferred plan of action (or inaction)" and "represents a strengthened emphasis on promoting economic development...over political reform."

Initiatives such as Bush's proposal for a Middle East Free Trade Area, Cofman Wittes argues, put too much stock in the theory that economic liberalization encourages democracy over time. While she does not deny the plan's fundemental assumption, Cofman Wittes argues that "a successful democratization strategy involves challenging autocratic regimes not only from above...but also from below, through the work of civil society activists."

"Enabling [Arab liberals'] success while not claiming it as our own," Cofman Wittes concludes, "is the most important thing we can do now to help liberals gain credibility in their own societies and repair our own credibility with them."

—Nancy Kennedy

investors-against-kerryedwards.com

FREE:

Insightful articles/essays about the potential impact of a Kerry/Edwards Administration on investors in stocks, real estate, businesses, etc.

All posted articles copyright-free, to download, distribute, forward, etc. *Articles include:*

- What To Tell Someone Under 35 About A Kerry/Edwards Economy
- Investors Will Dump All Investments — Fast
- The Coming Real Estate Crash
- The Woman Who Would Be Queen
- The Lie They ust Tell

investors-against-kerryedwards.com

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

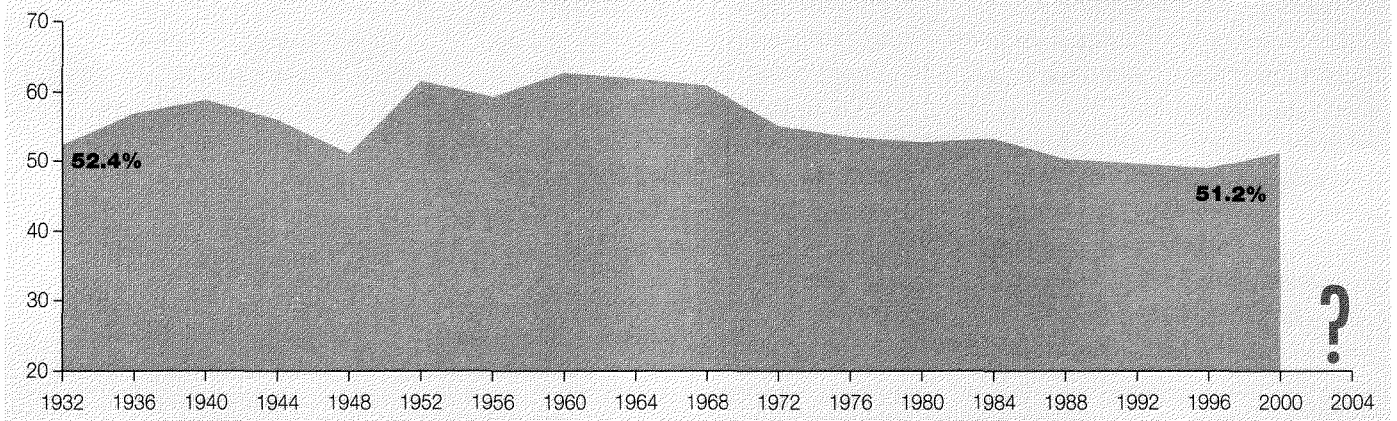
Opinion Pulse

Edited by Karlyn Bowman

Election 2004

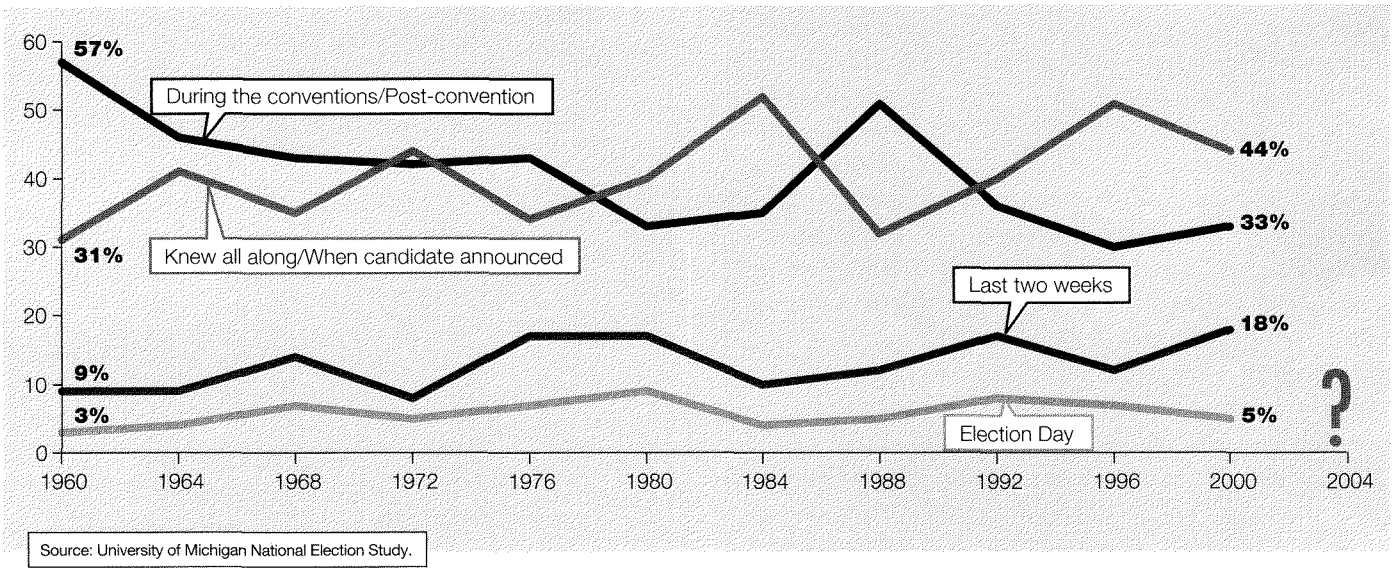
On November 2, Americans will go to the polls to cast their ballots in the 55th consecutive Presidential election in their nation's history. If recent elections are a guide, slightly more than half of Americans eligible to vote will do so. That may be down from the highwater mark of turnout in 1960, but it is not far out of line with voting over much of the twentieth century. In landslide election years, people tend to make up their minds early. When Ronald Reagan won his big victory in 1984, a majority of those surveyed said they decided how they would vote before the political conventions were held.

Turnout in Presidential election years



Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress*, 2001–2002.

Question: How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?



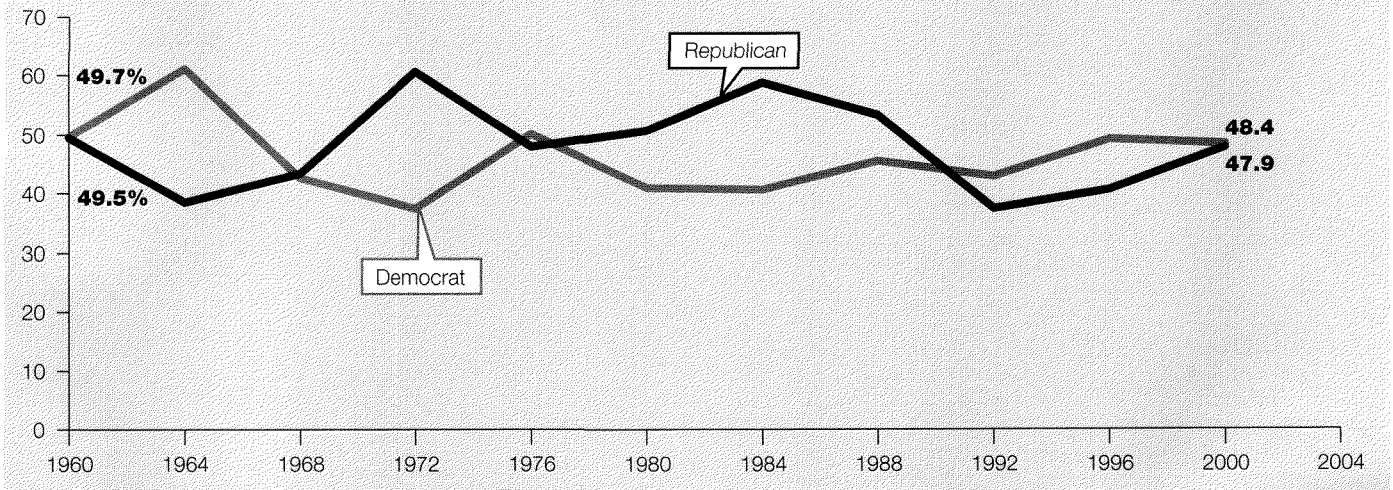
Source: University of Michigan National Election Study.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Electoral Shifts

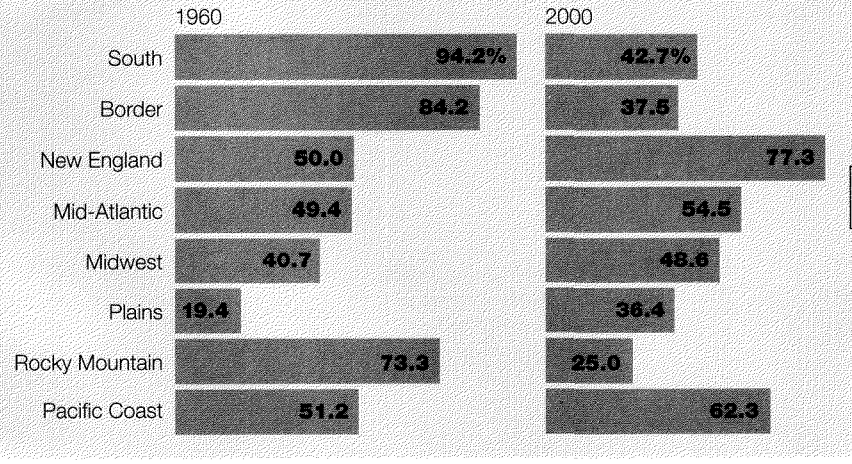
Party fortunes wax and wane depending on candidate strengths and the country's mood. But there have been some significant shifts in underlying geography as the House results below show. Over the past 40 years, Democrats have lost ground in the South and in the border states, while they have gained ground in New England. Ninety-eight percent of House members who seek re-election return to Congress. The proportion of House members winning by a very comfortable margin (60 percent or more) has increased.

Presidential vote by party

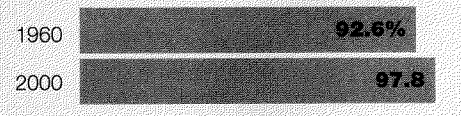


Source: *Vital Statistics on American Politics*, 1999–2000.

Democrats' strength in the House by region



Percent of House members seeking re-election who won



Source: *Vital Statistics on Congress*, 2001–2002.

House elections won with 60 percent of the major party vote

2004 contests

Senate	House	Governorships
Total: 34	Total: 435	Total: 11
At Stake:	**Current make-up:**	**At stake:**
19 Democratic seats	229 Republicans	6 Democratic seats
15 Republican seats	205 Democrats	5 Republican seats

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

How Some Key Groups Voted in 2000

Polls in the spring and summer of 2004 suggested a very close election in November. For some clues about the 2004 contest, we look below at how some key groups of voters cast their ballots in the excruciatingly close 2000 Presidential contest.

The gender gap has become a permanent feature of our politics. While neither group is monolithic, men have voted more Republican and women more Democratic in each election since 1980.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
48%	Men	42%	53%
52	Women	54	43

The marriage gap is larger than the gender gap. Married voters choose Republicans; unmarried ones (single, widowed, or divorced) usually vote Democratic.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
65%	Married	44%	53%
35	Unmarried	57	38

Since the 1964 election, black voters have supported Democratic Presidential candidates by wide margins. Hispanics favored Gore in 2000; Asians did, too, but by a smaller margin.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
82%	Whites	42%	54%
10	Blacks	90	8
4	Hispanics	67	31
2	Asians	54	41

In 2000, voters in the East pulled the lever for Gore, while Southerners voted for Bush. The Midwest, a battleground this year, was closely divided in 2000.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
23%	East	56%	39%
26	Midwest	48	49
31	South	43	55
21	West	48	46

Union households usually support Democrats.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
26%	Union Households	59%	37%

Turning out the loyal base is important for both parties, but so, too, is convincing independents. In 2000, they broke (just barely) for Bush.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
35%	Republicans	8%	91%
39	Democrats	86	11
27	Independents	45	47

People in the populous suburbs voted narrowly for Bush. Those in rural areas voted for him by a large margin. Big city residents voted heavily for Gore.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
43%	Suburbs	47%	49%
23	Rural	37	59
9	Population >500,000	71	26

Younger voters, the smallest slice of the electorate, voted narrowly for Gore. More numerous voters in middle-age groups split their votes. Older voters supported Gore.

Percent of 2000 total vote		Gore	Bush
17%	18-29 years old	48%	46%
33	30-44 year olds	48	49
28	45-59 year olds	48	49
22	60 and older	51	47

Source: Voter News Service exit poll of 13,379 voters.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the Mail

In "The Festering Problem of Indian 'Sovereignty'" (September), Jan Golab has condensed the monumental mess that is federal Indian policy into a six-page eye-opener that all members of Congress should read and heed. The problems outlined by Golab are going to get progressively worse until Congress can find within itself the courage and integrity to act. Fixing, or better yet, totally eliminating, federal Indian policy is no longer a question of if, but when.

Scott Peterman
Oneida, New York

We have the same worries in Britain as the ones presented in Samuel Huntington's "One Nation, Out of Many" (September). The elite, often self-styled, are pushing for multiculturalism. The large numbers of Muslim immigrants are usually keeping themselves together as a separate nation. (Chinese, Hindus, and Sikhs are eager to integrate and are generally welcome.) Any expression of disquiet is trashed as racialism. That is unjust. There is a problem here, and it should be addressed.

Brian Gunn
Nottingham, England

Rodney Stark's "Fact, Fable, and Darwin" (September) claims incorrectly that, "There is no plausible scientific theory of the origin of species." Variation from one generation to the next, combined with the geographical isolation of groups, can be expected to give rise to the development of new species. Not only are there firm theoretical foundations for believing this; there is direct evidence, in the form of laboratory experiments and field observations. A quick Internet search on "observed instances of speciation" will take you to several Web sites presenting such evidence.

Stark's statement, "The boundaries between species are distinct and firm—one species does not simply trail off into another by degrees," is similarly incorrect. In some families of tropical butterflies, for example, over a quarter of the species are known to hybridize with each other. To give a more familiar example, lions and tigers are able to interbreed, despite the fact that they are different species. How can this be, if the boundaries between species are, as Stark claims, "distinct and firm"? The boundaries between species are "leaky" if species share a recent common ancestor (as is the case with lions and tigers) and firm if the common ancestor was less recent (as in cats and dogs).

Robert Stovold
Brighton, England

Rodney Stark's conclusions about evolution are merely a 3,000-word confirmation of the notion he inappropriately chides his antagonist Richard Dawkins for holding—that if any scholar criticizes any detail of Darwinian theory, "that fact is seized upon and blown up out of proportion."

How else to explain the fact that, aside from its discussion of Bishop Wilberforce, his column is a virtual reprint of the standard, shopworn, disproven creationist attacks on evolution, from its simplistic invocations of chance, mathematical probabilities, gaps in the fossil record, and Popperian philosophy of science, down to its closing suggestion that something other than evolution be taught in public schools?

I am but a layman, yet judging from the rubbish Stark asserts about the status of evolutionary biology, I can only conclude that he is—like those whom he alleges helped the legend of the Wilberforce-Huxley debate grow—one of those academics who knows nothing outside his own special subject.

Mark Lowe
Rancho Cucamonga, California

Rodney Stark replies:

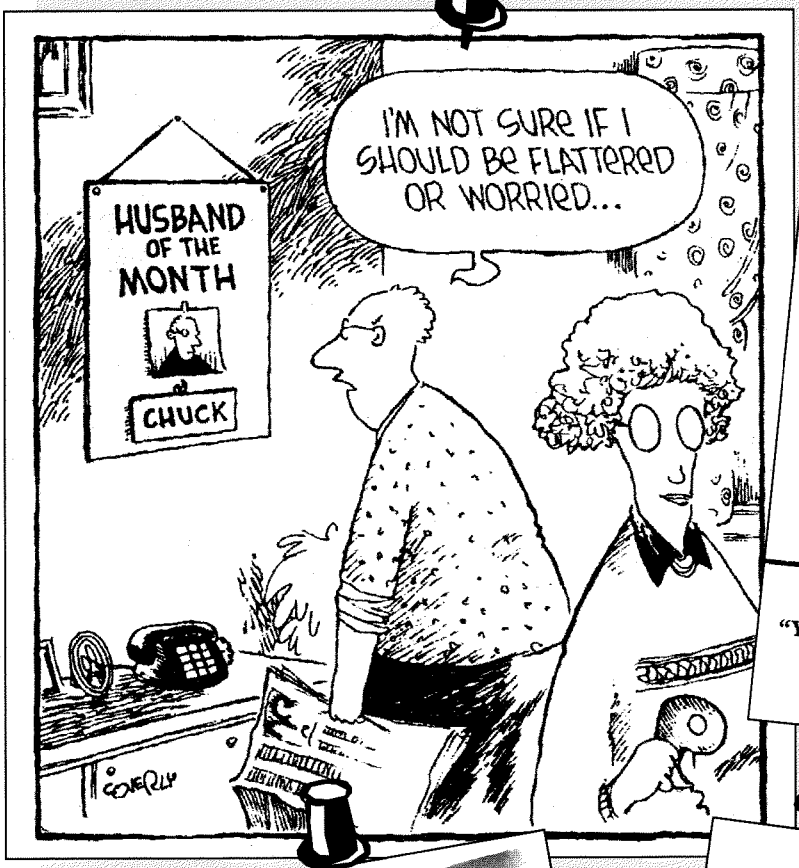
My article sought to make only two points. 1) All prominent biologists agree that there is no theory of the origin of species. 2) As these writers demonstrate, those who claim that there is such a theory are zealous true believers.

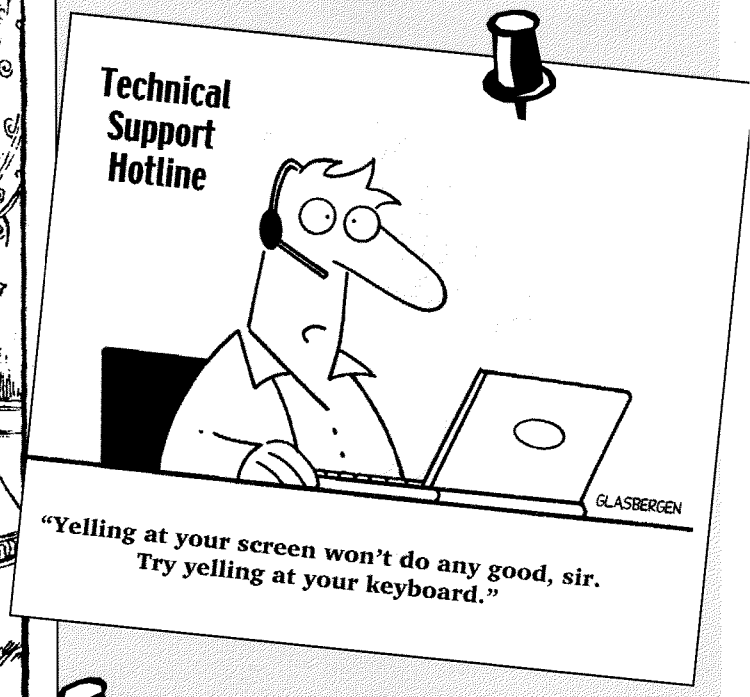
I've just finished reading "Go Ahead—Call Us Cowboys," by Andrew and Judith Kleinfeld (July/August). I enjoyed the article very much and found their observations on the American way of life insightful and refreshing. I would like, however, to point out one error. John Butler Yeats was Irish, not British, as the article claims. As an Irishman myself, I should know.

Robert Clancy
Dublin, Ireland

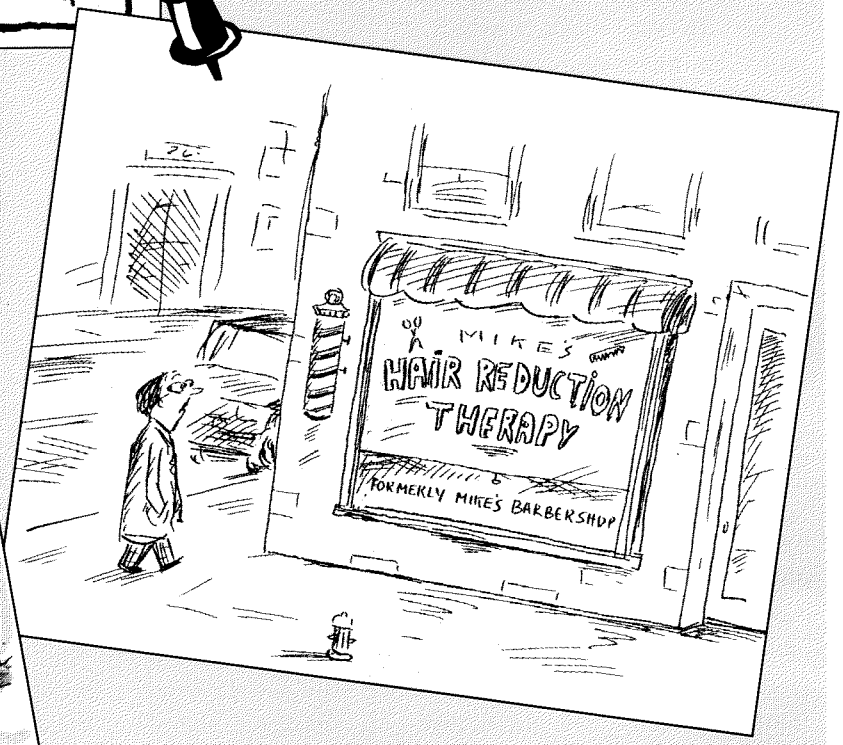
The American Enterprise welcomes your comments. Send e-mail to TAE@aei.org. Or write "The Mail," *The American Enterprise*, 1150 17th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or fax (202) 862-5867. Please include your address and phone number. Published letters may be edited for length and clarity.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED





"Yelling at your screen won't do any good, sir. Try yelling at your keyboard."



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

IF IT'S IMPORTANT, IT'S ON . . .

Think TANK

With BEN WATTENBERG

"Thank you for such an excellent program. It seems difficult to find anything worth viewing on television these days. I especially enjoy the format of your program. It's like having friends sitting around the table in your home discussing interesting topics. Again, thank you at **Think Tank** for such an excellent program. You have another admiring fan.

Excellent show on the King James Bible. Another one-half hour on this subject would have been welcome.

Once again your program was the best of the best. Your choice of subject and the people you bring in for the dialogue are also the best. Whenever you are on Sunday TV I dash home from worship to watch. It is worth the time.
Cheers to Ben Wattenberg as an interviewer.

I have been watching the various programs you've hosted for years, and I think you always present a balanced approach.

Thank you for your program. I do watch it regularly and find it in a class of its own. What a departure from much of the opinionated commentators that seem to be quite prevalent today.

This is the first opportunity I had to view your show. Excellent format with thought provoking and probing questions.

It's difficult to express to you how impressive this interview [with Henry Kissinger] was. It was fairly unbiased, non-combative, and the interviewer allowed Dr. Kissinger to speak for more than a sound bite or two.

This show is one of the best things going on TV."

Our only response is "thank you"!

PBS

THINK TANK: THE PBS PROGRAM ON IDEAS

Pfizer

Support for **THINK TANK** is provided by Pfizer Inc., the Smith Richardson Foundation, the Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation, and the Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

WHEN YOU'RE LEARNING ABOUT LIFE, THE WORLD IS YOUR CLASSROOM.

WE LIVE WHERE YOU LIVE.™

That's why State Farm® supports Service-Learning, an innovative teaching method combining service to the community with classroom curriculum. Join State Farm in sharing the value of Service-Learning with your local schools and help children as they reach out to their communities. To learn more, contact The National Service-Learning Partnership at *service-learningpartnership.org*.

LIKE A GOOD NEIGHBOR STATE FARM IS THERE.™

STATE FARM INSURANCE

statefarm.com®

State Farm • Home Offices: Bloomington, Illinois

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED